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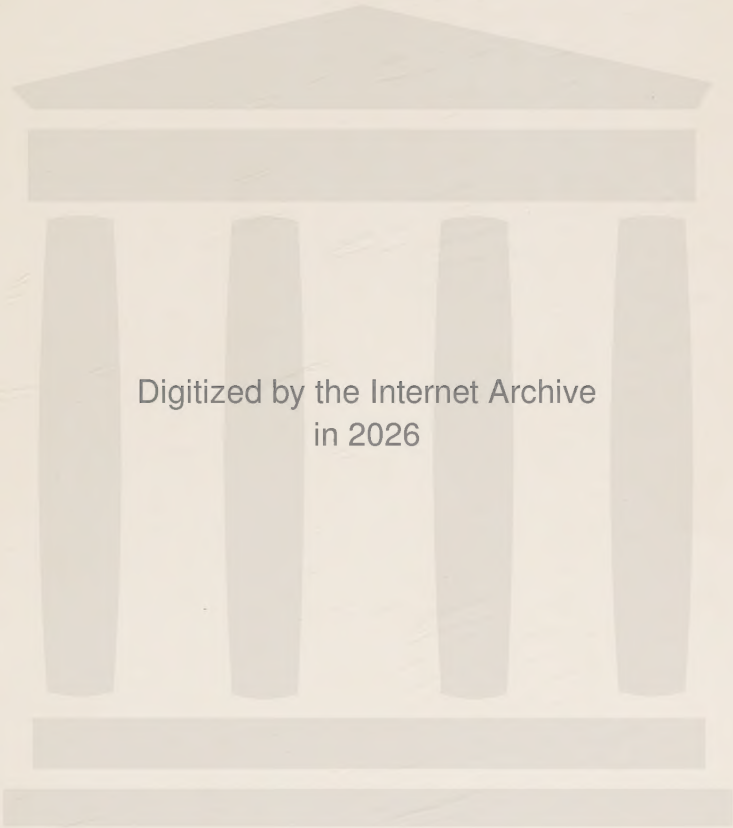

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A HISTORY OF TRAVEL IN AMERICA

AWFUL ACCIDENT

on the North Pennsylvania Rail Road on Thursday July 17th 1856

PRINTED & FOR SALE by S. BOERUM North East Cor. 4th & New Sts.

Railroad accidents due to carelessness were as common as steamboat disasters in the years from 1840 to 1858, and lurid illustrations of them were also printed and sold. F. Lith. Col. Amer.

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A History of Travel in America

Showing the Development of Travel and Transportation from the Crude Methods of the Canoe and the Dog-Sled to the Highly Organized Railway Systems of the Present, Together with a Narrative of the Human Experiences and Changing Social Conditions that Accompanied this Economic Conquest of the Continent

BY

SEYMOUR DUNBAR

With maps, colored plates and other illustrations reproduced from early engravings, original contemporaneous drawings and broadsides

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A HISTORY OF TRAVEL IN AMERICA

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A HISTORY OF TRAVEL IN AMERICA

CHAPTER XLIX

THE OVERRUNNING OF THE WEST — LAST PHASE OF A TASK COMMENCED MORE THAN TWO CENTURIES BEFORE — AN OUTBURST OF HUMAN ENERGY AND AMBITION — OUR TWO VIEWS OF THE MIGRATIONS — THEIR WORLD IMPORTANCE — BOONE'S INFLUENCE STILL ACTIVE — VALUE OF THE MISSOURI RIVER AS AN EARLY ROUTE INTO THE WEST — ITS PIONEER CRAFT — FIRST STEAMBOATS — AUDUBON AND THE WHISKY — CAPTAIN SIRE'S INSPIRATION

THE general invasion and overrunning of the immense region west of the Mississippi River by English speaking Americans may be said to have taken place within a period of about twenty years, between 1829 and 1850. No hard-and-fast date, to be sure, can be set for the commencement of the movement. Various things of importance in relation to it and numerous journeys through the country involved had already occurred before 1829, and they will necessarily be mentioned in this and succeeding chapters. But in the year named there took place an event that radically altered the conditions under which travel into considerable parts of the far West might be undertaken by those who wished to go there. That circumstance was the establishment of steam navigation on the Missouri

River. The introduction of steamboats on the extensive stream seems to constitute, in a rough way, a dividing line between the previous era and that which came afterward. Their subsequent operation—infrequent as it was for a time—created a new and important link between the settled country and established periodic travel of the East, and the little known expanses to the westward. Caucasian civilization thereafter could—and did—reach out toward the Rocky Mountains without the compulsion of employing physical toil previously necessary in the process.

The contrast between the short interval here named and all that preceded it is amazing. More than two centuries had been required by the dominant people in their march from New England and Virginia to the Mississippi. During that lapse of time they had crept across and intrenched themselves in about one-third of the continental width and in considerably less than one-third of the continental area now embraced within the nation's limits. But even in that progress they had failed to absorb all the region between the Atlantic Ocean and the river, for, as has been seen, there still existed large territories east of the Mississippi into which they had no right to penetrate except by permission or passport, and across which, both in the North and the South, they could only lawfully travel by virtue of consent or highways obtained through treaty. So far, and with such incompleteness of eventual result, had the white Americans advanced.

Then, within a period of about twenty years—beginning with the simultaneous introduction of railways in the East and of steam navigation on the Missouri—they added to their domain and settled a quarter of a million square miles of territory known as the Oregon

333.—A view of the city of St. Louis during the period which embraced the climax of Missouri River traffic, the Oregon migrations, the Mormon exodus and the final rush to California. Published in Dusseldorf, Germany, from a drawing by the American artist, Henry Lewis. The following 66 illustrations, to No. 399 inclusive, relate to the Caucasian overrunning of the far West.

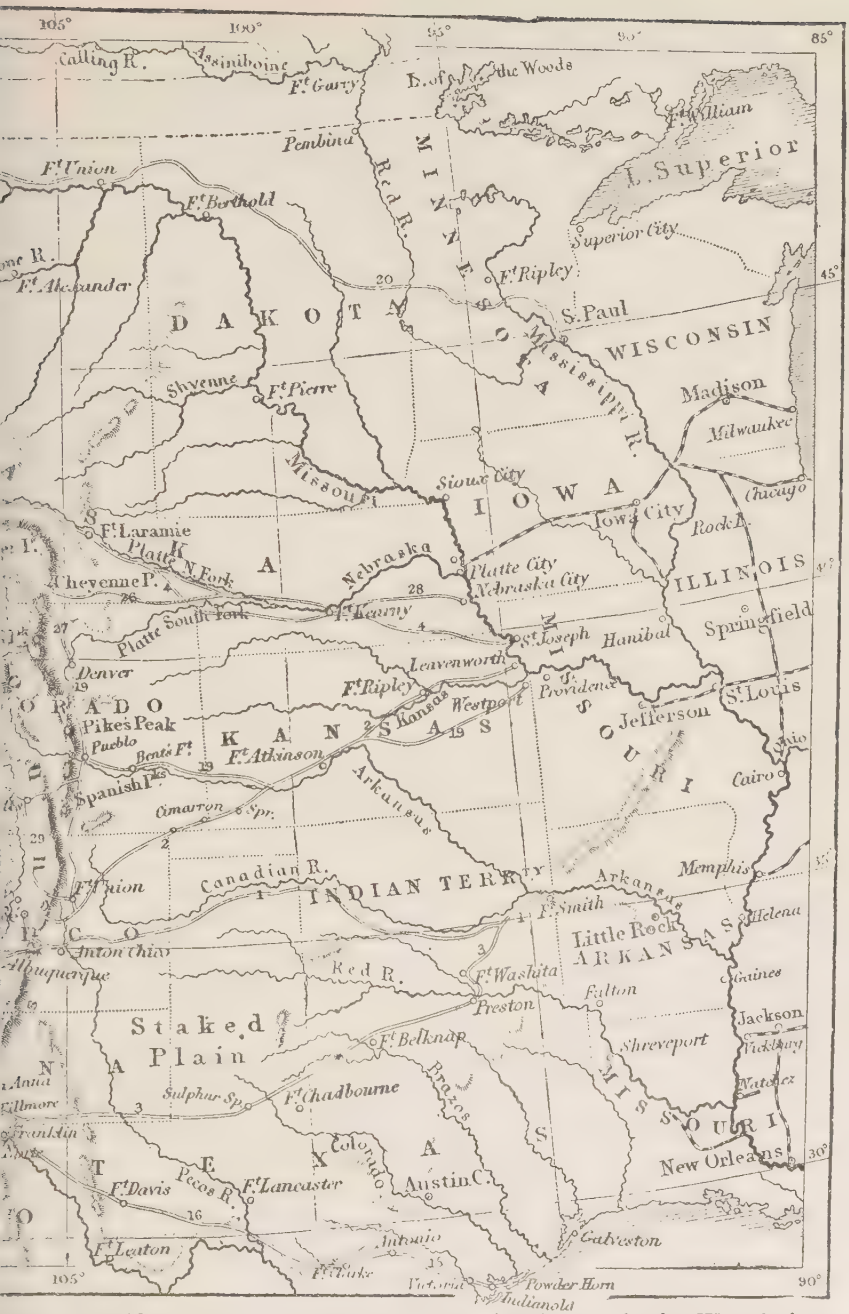
Country of the Northwest; took about six hundred thousand square miles of western and southwestern territory from Mexico;[1] established themselves along a thousand miles of the Pacific coast; and overran the whole of the intervening region between the Pacific and the Mississippi in an unparallelled series of overland migrations which had their origin in deep-seated impulses affecting the people as a mass. By the close of 1850 the extraordinary outburst—requiring so few words for its definition but which was so profound in its effect upon the world—was complete and irrevocable. The things that followed, including the continuation of the overland movement then in progress, were consequences of what had already happened. Not far from two million square miles of territory were penetrated and occupied as a direct or indirect result of the overland hegiras that took place in America between 1840 and 1850. Both the travel movement in question and the earth's area affected by it were, in respect of size, the most extensive and largest involved in any similar phenomenon within a like interval of recorded human history.

It is also possible that the economic and political history of the world has been, and is destined to be, more deeply influenced by these overland travel-surges that happened in America and are soon to engage our attention, than by any other similar movements which have taken place elsewhere.[2] They constituted the final effort whereby existing civilization girdled the earth with its

[1] Though no pride attaches either to this act or the manner of its doing.

[2] The one similar known movement comparable to that which took place in America is, of course, the early overrunning of a part of Europe by hordes from the eastward. Among existing conditions due in greater or less degree, and either directly or indirectly to the American people's sudden occupation of the region between the Mississippi and the Pacific, are a large addition to the world's stock of gold; the new importance of the Pacific Ocean and bordering countries in world affairs; the political expansion of the United States; the increase of immigration hither from all other lands; a swifter industrial and economic development of the nation; its evolution as a world power; the creation of the Panama Canal; and the far-reaching effects of those several things on the affairs of mankind.

Ravenstein's map showing the system of overland roads between the Mississip
the period between 1843 and 1868. Roads are indicated by parallel lines and numbe
The territory thus penetrated is the largest continental area similarly overrun a
movement by caravan.



and the Pacific Ocean, over which moved the migrations to the far West during
ordance with Marcy's list of routes as arranged by Burton.
nently occupied by a civilized people during one short and uninterrupted travel

daily influence. By their means was completed a long process whose place and time of beginning cannot now be defined, but as we stand on the Pacific shore and look still farther westward we behold the cradle out of which an infant race clambered to begin its wanderings. The chain of land dominion is complete, and to us was left the forging of the last link. The globe can be circled in less than forty days; every nation knows within a few hours what has happened to the other members of the earth family; the affairs of one have become the acknowledged concern of all, to be discussed and treated in a community way; a Parliament is coming whose presiding officer shall say: "Germany speaks"; "Nippon speaks"; "Switzerland speaks"; "Brazil speaks." And the nations will listen, and vote as their names are called.

The American men and women who set forth with their horses and oxen and wagons said they were starting to California or Oregon, and so they were. But beside them strode consequences which were going further still. And so as we read the story of their journeys; as we hear them tell of their toil through the desert sands; of eating the bodies of the dead who fell; of burning off their whiskers with hot grease at the camp-fire; of their concerts; of the mirage that taunted them; of hopes and struggles of every sort, we of this later day follow their narratives with a vision that does not stop at sight of yellow gold or the rolling tide of the Columbia. We behold them in two characters. In one sense we see them as men and women like ourselves, engaged in a long and hard journey undertaken for personal reasons of one kind or another, and hopeful of improving their condition. In the other and broader sense we do not look upon them as individuals, but as a strange and colossal spectacle mov-

ing in response to a world impulse which summoned them to play a mighty part in the deeds of men—and then left them ignorant of what they had done, just as most of us are ignorant of what we are collectively doing to-day. Our retrospective understanding still maintains its supremacy.

The westward overland movement from the Mississippi valley and eastern states was characterized by two phases. The first of these embraced nearly all of the interval previously mentioned, during which time the white men who advanced for considerable distances beyond the Mississippi without intention of return were comparatively few in number, and were animated principally by individual considerations or restlessness. Their westward journeying was not the result of any deep or widespread influence affecting the population as a whole. They may be likened to the far-flung spray of a ponderous wave that has been halted in its advance. The second phase of the movement was altogether different in character. It covered the two years of 1849 and 1850, and was the consequence of events and conditions affecting the entire people. It resembled the first onrush of a huge wave which has broken through a barrier, making way for the irresistible flood behind.

Those two aspects of the westward advance had one quality in common. Nearly all movement during both of them was a matter of individual exertion or clan effort. In such features the invasion and permanent occupation of the West, during the decisive years of that phenomenon, closely resembled the migrations throughout the Atlantic coast region in the latter part of the seventeenth century and the first part of the eighteenth century, during which time new districts were occupied

334.—The Missouri River. First travel route of white men to the Rocky Mountains. Mouth of the stream, and craft engaged in its navigation at the height of its importance. From a drawing by Henry Lewis.

and new settlements were always made by means of the company-travel then necessary. But by 1851 the tide of overland travel across the plains had already become so large, and showed such certainty of still greater increase, that a new element was soon after introduced into the situation. Commercial management turned its interested gaze toward the hundreds of thousands who were struggling over the plains and mountains; lines of communication were projected on the basis of business enterprises; and the conveyance of passengers and information across the newly-occupied region in that manner was eventually brought about. All except a small part of the human tide still swept on for a dozen years as before, but individual initiative in providing means for the long journey, and personal effort in accomplishing the pilgrimage, no longer remained necessary. Organized methods grappled with the problem in ever increasing mastery until it was finally conquered.

But though the permanent penetration of the far West —by men who journeyed there without intention of immediate return—was accomplished substantially in the manner here outlined, there were nevertheless a few still earlier historical incidents so intimately connected with the region that they require to be here recalled. Three principal events of the sort were the explorationary trips of Lewis and Clark, of Zebulon Pike, and of Stephen H. Long.[1] At the time those three extensive expeditions were made, through country then unknown, the information acquired by means of them was of no value to the mass of the people in connection with any effort to occupy the territory explored. In later years, however, the journeys

[1] Still another was embraced by the early history of the Oregon country, which will be separately considered.

of those men were destined to bear rich fruit. They were among the first English speaking pathfinders, and the knowledge brought back by them served as a guide to the advance guard of the host which started to follow their almost forgotten footsteps.

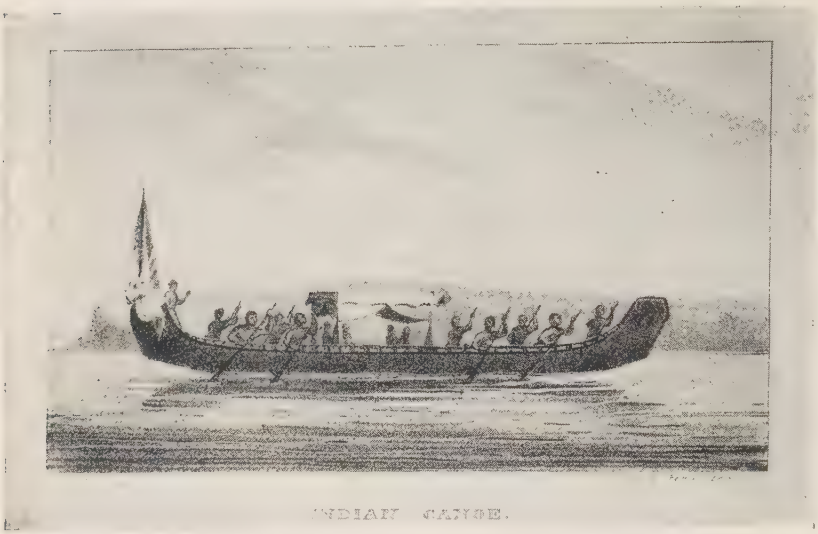
Captains Lewis and Clark, of the United States army, in the years 1804-5-6, travelled up the Missouri River to its head waters, thence across the Rocky Mountains and down the Columbia River to the Pacific Ocean, and finally made their way back to civilization.[1]

Major Pike, also of the Federal army, journeyed from St. Louis to the head waters of the Platte, Arkansas and Rio Grande, and back again through the Southwest and northern Mexico, in 1805-6-7.

Major Long, who like his predecessors was an army officer, made a trip from Pittsburgh to the Rocky Mountains and return in the years 1819 and 1820. His expedition moved for some distance up the Missouri River by means of a little steamboat called the *Western Engineer,* which was built for the purpose at Pittsburgh, and was the first steam craft west of the Mississippi. The boat was seventy-five feet long, thirteen feet wide,

[1] President Jefferson did not—as is commonly stated—send Lewis and Clark to explore the region because it had been bought from France by the United States. His recommendation of the journey was made to Congress in a message dated January 18, 1803, and Congress had acted favorably and even appropriated money for the expedition before anyone in America knew we had bought the Louisiana Territory, or that we could buy it, or that our representatives in France had thought of such a thing. Jefferson had desired such an exploration since 1783. A detailed account of the genesis of the trip, and of Jefferson's ideas on the subject, may be found in Schafer's "A History of the Pacific Northwest" (pp. 53-68), although that authority, in discussing related national conditions of 1800, says (p. 61) that "the steamboat . . . was yet to be invented."

The results of Lewis and Clark's work were first made available in printed form in the "Message from the President of the United States, Communicating Discoveries made in Exploring the Missouri, Red River and Washita, by Captains Lewis and Clark, Doctor Sibley and Mr. Dunbar; with a Statistical Account of the Countries Adjacent. Read in Congress February 19, 1806. New York, 1806." The Lewis and Clark narrative was reprinted in Pittsburgh in 1807 as the "Journal of Lewis and Clark," and was also reprinted in London during the same year under the title "Travels in the Interior Parts of America, etc., etc." It was also reprinted in Philadelphia under the title "History of the Expedition under the Command of Captains Lewis and Clark, to the Sources of the Missouri, Thence across the Rocky Mountains and down the River Columbia to the Pacific Ocean. Performed During the Years 1804-5-6." Still another London reprint appeared in 1809 under the title "The Travels of Captains Lewis and Clark from St. Louis, by Way of the Missouri and Columbia Rivers, to the Pacific Ocean. Performed in the Years 1804, 1805, and 1806, by Order of the Government of the United States, etc., etc."



335.—A large Indian canoe of the Missouri such as was used, on various occasions, by government expeditions toward the upper reaches of the river and its tributaries. Friendly natives sometimes navigated the boats.

and drew nineteen inches of water. For the purpose of mystifying and impressing the native peoples among whom it might pass, the bow of Long's steamboat was fashioned in imitation of the neck and head of a serpent from whose open mouth issued clouds of smoke. The propelling machinery was purposely hid from sight by a superstructure, as was the paddle-wheel at the stern, which violently agitated the water like the tail of some strange aquatic monster. The speed of the boat was about three miles an hour. It is needless to say that the effect produced among the Indians by the apparition was extreme.

These three notable journeys, though important because of the knowledge obtained for the government by them, were not an integral part of the permanent westward advance of the people.

The first drop of human spray thrown across the Mississippi by the advancing population wave was, in fact, the redoubtable explorer of Kentucky—Daniel Boone himself. It has often been said that man is a gregarious animal, and as a principle there can be no dispute with that conclusion. But the strange figure who now appears again for a brief instant in the story was one of the most noteworthy exceptions to the rule of whom history makes mention. Boone was not gregarious. Central Kentucky had become too crowded for him before the year 1800, and about the beginning of the century he took the radical step of leaving his own land altogether and settling in the foreign country beyond the great river. There he remained until his death in 1820, at the age of eighty-six. After his death a quoted expression of his long, unavailing quest for solitude was printed in the following words:[1]

"I first removed to the woods of Kentucky. I fought and repelled the savages, and hoped for repose. Game was abundant and our path was prosperous, but soon I was molested by interlopers from every quarter. Again I retreated to the region of the Mississippi; but again these speculators and settlers followed me. Once more I withdrew to the licks of Missouri—and here at length I hoped to find rest. But I was still pursued—for I had not been two years at the licks before a damned Yankee came and settled down within a hundred miles of me."[2]

In removing beyond the Mississippi, and later to a spot now embraced by central Missouri, Boone did not long remain an exile from his native land. Although the man himself thereafter remained stationary, the United States moved after him. On his arrival the King of Spain[3]—through the Lieutenant Governor of that country—appointed him to command of the district where he had taken up his abode and gave him eight

[1] In the "Farmers and Mechanics Journal" (Vincennes, Indiana) of June 12, 1823.
[2] The editor of the "Farmers and Mechanics Journal," in publishing Boone's statement, said that he printed it because of its interest, despite the fact that it was "incompatible with the dignity of history."
[3] Charles IV.

thousand five hundred acres of land on the Missouri River. France soon afterward came into ownership of the region, and in 1803 it passed into the possession of the United States through the purchase of the Louisiana Territory from Napoleon, bringing Boone once more under the jurisdiction of the country he had quitted, and creating those conditions which inspired the objurgated Yankees to follow him.

By 1804 Boone and two of his sons—Nathan and Daniel—were engaged in making salt at some salt springs that came to be known as "Boone's Lick."[1] They were then the only permanently settled white men who had established their abode west of the immediate vicinity of the Mississippi River. Their industrial product was obtained by boiling the saline spring water in kettles, and the salt thus obtained was periodically conveyed down the Missouri River in a curious species of craft designed for the purpose,[2] and sold to the inhabitants of the little French village called St. Louis. Within two or three years—as mentioned by the elder Boone in his indignant protest—another group of people from the East arrived and built cabins in the vicinity. A settlement called Franklin gradually came into existence, and with the presence of a growing population about one hundred and fifty miles west of the Mississippi the need of a road from the river to the interior soon became manifest. Such a pathway was begun about 1815, and the two younger Boones were leading spirits in the enterprise. The road was at first merely a wilderness path similar to countless hundreds of other forest highways, with log-canoe ferries stationed at the deeper streams which intersected its course. The trace

[1] A natural salt deposit in the West was called a "lick" because wild animals came to such a spot to obtain the mineral.
[2] To be later described.

extended from the town of St. Charles[1] westwardly to Franklin, and for many years was known as "Boone's Lick Road." Over it marched much of the early migration west of the Mississippi.[2]

The influx into the Missouri region over Boone's Lick Road was largely instrumental in bringing about the creation of the state of Missouri in 1821. Nor did the importance of the thoroughfare end at that time. During the years immediately thereafter it followed the movement of permanent white population from Franklin still farther west to Lexington, Bluffton and Liberty. And by about the year 1830 it constituted a road entirely across the state from east to west.[3]

It will be remembered that in 1825 Congress had passed an act "authorizing the President of the United States to cause a road to be marked out from the western frontier of Missouri to the confines of New Mexico," after obtaining the consent "of the intervening tribes of Indians, by treaty, to the marking of said road, and to the unmolested use thereof by the citizens of the United States." The road to the Southwest, obtained at that time and in the manner described, soon came into existence as a still further extension of the Boone's Lick Road across Missouri.[4] It is hence seen that the influence of Daniel Boone on the westward advance of his fellow-Americans did not cease in revolutionary times with the penetration

[1] On the Missouri River a short distance northwest of St. Louis.

[2] Although already of consequence as a wilderness highway, Boone's Lick Road was not indicated by John Melish on his "Map of the United States," which was published in Philadelphia in June of 1820. The fifty-sheet map in question, which was the most important cartographical delineation of the United States issued up to that time, shows two or three short roads in southeastern Missouri in the territory extending from Madrid to the town of Kaskaskia, in Illinois. The Melish map of 1820 displays the town of Franklin as the westernmost white settlement of any consequence at that time, and also bears the inscription, "Boon's Salt Works," a short distance to the westward of the location of Franklin. The map was issued during the year of Boone's death.

[3] The westward extension of Boone's Lick Road from Franklin to the three towns above named is shown on Mitchell's "Map of the United States," issued in 1833.

[4] The 1835 edition of "Mitchell's Map of the United States" shows the newly created town of Independence, in Missouri, and the Santa Fé trail extending onward from that point.

of Kentucky. His retirement into the wilds beyond the Mississippi had a close relation to the creation of the first state west of that river, and brought about the making of the first white man's road across Missouri and its farther extension for hundreds of miles into the Southwest to the

336.—A peculiar variety of ferry boat devised by natives of the far West and used by parties moving overland when they wanted to cross unfordable streams. It was a big air cushion made of buffalo hides. After serving their purpose such boats were deflated and again loaded on a pack-horse. From a sketch by the artist Carl Sohon.

ancient Spanish city of Santa Fé. Boone's direct influence, therefore, in connection with westward white movement and the conquest of the continent, extended from North Carolina to the Rocky Mountains. Those who first penetrated into Missouri followed his footsteps and later traversed the road marked out by his sons. If they were marching still farther into the Southwest, it was by Boone's Lick Road that they finally reached the Santa Fé trail.

The last journey made by Boone was back toward the East, though it was not undertaken by any volition of his own; for he was dead. He had been buried near the spot where his last days were spent, but a number of years after his death, and as the result of official negotiations between the two states, Missouri gave him back to Kentucky, and a commission representing that commonwealth travelled up the Missouri River to the little town of Marthasville and returned with the remains of the pioneer. The trip of Kentucky's representatives was made by steamboat[1] and it was on such a vehicle—far removed in its character from those with which he had in life been familiar—that Boone went back eastward on his last journey to Kentucky.[2]

The Missouri River, whose lower course for a hundred and fifty miles above its mouth had been the scene of the first trans-Mississippi invasion undertaken by the whites, constituted the principal road by which early access to the far West was attained. The active employment of that stream as a travel path during the years of western penetration from 1804 until the creation of the first transcontinental railway, was another instance of pioneer resort to water routes of travel wherever possible. Even when progress was not made in water craft on the bosom of the river itself—as was to be the case in the later days of big wagon caravans—the moving men kept as close as possible, for many hundreds of miles, to the river and to its tributaries. Some of the man-power boats employed on the Missouri prior to the appearance of the steamboat on its waters merit brief description. They differed to a

[1] The name of the boat was the "Kansas."

[2] It is an odd coincidence that Fitch, the derided pioneer of the modern era, went out to Kentucky in bitterness of heart to seek solitude at almost the precise time when Boone, the pioneer of wilderness travel, left Kentucky for the same purpose.

considerable extent from those vessels used on the streams of the East and on the Ohio for similar purposes during the preceding one hundred and fifty years. The awkward and almost unmanageable ark, for instance, was entirely unsuited to Missouri River navigation, and never appeared on that stream. Neither did any type of the enclosed flatboat such as was variously known farther to the eastward as the Ohio boat, the Kentucky boat or the Mississippi boat.

The canoe, as usual, was the most common of all craft employed by pioneer travellers on the river. It was never made of bark, but always from the trunk of a tree, and it was most commonly constructed from a cottonwood log. The selection of the cottonwood as the raw material for a Missouri River canoe was due to three factors. It was exceedingly common, of large size, and of a texture which permitted its easy transformation into the desired form. A cottonwood canoe was of any size up to about thirty-five feet in length and four feet in width. The most familiar size was a length of about twenty feet combined with a beam of three feet. A desirable log was reduced to canoe form by manual labor with broad-ax and adz, and the hull had a thickness of some three or four inches along the bottom of the boat. The sides were left about two inches thick, but the entire interior of the log was not removed. Solid bulkheads of the natural wood were left untouched at intervals of five or six feet, thus giving an added element of strength to the completed vessel and preventing any perilous shift of cargo. The building of a large canoe of this type would occupy two men for at least a week. Sometimes a Missouri River log canoe was equipped with a low mast and small sail, but the ordinary propulsion was effected by paddles. Craft of this sort

were often navigated all the way from the Mississippi River to the Rocky Mountains and back again. The ordinary crew consisted of two men at the paddles and one steersman. It was in small canoes of this general description that the Boones took their salt to St. Louis. They packed it between the natural bulkheads and covered it with skins above to protect it from water. Two other popular western pioneer commodities often transported on the Missouri and other interior rivers in the same way were bear's oil and honey. The distance that could be covered by a log canoe moving up stream on the Missouri varied from fifteen to thirty or forty miles a day, according to the force of the current, the course of the wind and other natural conditions.

The pirogue—as that name was applied on the Missouri—was a boat whose hull consisted of two log canoes about six feet apart, which were fastened together and covered with a rough wooden flooring. The propulsion of a pirogue up stream was much heavier work than the similar operation of a canoe, although a rather large sail could be used on such a boat, provided the wind was favorable, without any danger of an upset.

The keel-boat of the Missouri was quite similar to the identically named vessel already described, which was a familiar craft on the Ohio and other rivers still farther east. In fact, keel-boats were very rarely built on the Missouri, but were constructed at Louisville, Cincinnati or Pittsburgh, and navigated to the scene of their desired use. Missouri River keel-boats were from fifty to seventy-five feet in length and from twelve to twenty feet wide. Governmental explorers and military commanders, and all pretentious private up-river enterprises, before the days of the steamboat, used such vessels. The keel-boat of

337.—The expedition commanded by Long, and some subsequent exploring and military parties sent up the Missouri by the government, were in part transported on small steamboats. The fire-canoes of the white men made a profound impression on Indians who beheld them for the first time.

the West was equipped with several means for expediting its progress. In the first place it had a mast and sail. It also carried long sweeps or oars for use in rowing, and a set of poles to be employed upon occasion in the immemorial work of poles in American river navigation. And finally it carried a heavy rope often more than a thousand feet long, one end of which was fastened high up on its mast. The other end of the cable extended to the shore, where it was grasped by a considerable number of men who pulled the boat ahead. It can easily be appreciated that under unfavorable conditions, or on a stretch of river where walking facilities were poor, that the up-stream progress of a keel-boat was very slow indeed, and that it entailed severe exertions on the part of the men who were compelled to clamber along the shore

and drag the burden at the other end of the line. The most expeditious long-distance trip recorded of the Missouri keel-boat was one made by a navigator named Manuel Lisa in 1811. On the occasion referred to his vessel traversed about eleven hundred miles in sixty-one days, thus attaining an average speed of eighteen miles a day.

The bull-boat of the Missouri and other western rivers was a type of craft unknown except on those streams. It resembled an enormous shallow oval basket, and in size it was ordinarily about twenty-five feet long and twelve or fifteen feet wide. Its sides stood two or three feet above the surface of the stream on which it was navigated, and when full laden it never drew more than a foot of water. The framework of the bull-boat consisted of long and pliable poles, some of which extended along the greater dimension of the craft, with the others lying at right angles to the first and securely fastened to them. All the poles were bent upward at the edge or circumference of the framework and secured in that position, thus producing the basket-like shape of the fabric. The frame was covered with dressed buffalo hides[1] which had been sewed together with sinews from the same animals and then soaked. After being placed on the poles in their soaked condition the hides soon shrank to a considerable degree and thus formed a very tight covering. The seams between the hides used in making a bull-boat were made water-tight by a mixture of melted buffalo fat and earth or ashes, and the final result was a craft of extreme lightness which floated on the water almost like a bubble. A large contrivance of this sort

[1] For this purpose the skins of bull buffaloes were used exclusively; hence the name "bull-boat."

could carry a burden of three tons in a stream whose depth did not exceed ten inches, and its propulsion by poles was a comparatively easy matter. The two principal objections to the bull-boat were the ease with which it was penetrated or reduced to a leaky condition by rubbing along a snag or rock, and its helplessness on a stretch of river wherein the water was too deep for the poles to be used. In a situation of that sort it was at the mercy of wind and current. Bull-boats were the favorite vehicles for down-stream transportation of furs.

The Missouri River substitute for the various types of flatboats used on the Ohio and the Mississippi was a peculiar vessel called the "mackinaw." The principal resemblance of the mackinaw to the Ohio flatboat lay in the fact that it was suitable only for down-stream navigation, and that its career—as a boat—was limited to one voyage. The mackinaw was a flat-bottomed affair, but instead of being rectangular in shape it was elliptical, and usually about four times as long as it was wide. A large boat of the sort was fifty or sixty feet long. From the edge of the raft-like structure which constituted the bottom of the mackinaw rose a gunwale several feet high, so that the hold of a large specimen was four or five feet deep. The oarsmen sat on benches near the forward end of the craft, and a seat eight or ten feet up in the air, reached by a ladder, was provided for the helmsman in the stern. From his elevated throne of authority the steersman kept watch for trouble ahead, manipulated his rudder and shouted his orders to the crew in the bow. The central section of the mackinaw was used for cargo purposes, and was separated from the rest of the boat, both fore and aft, by strong water-tight partitions. The cargo hold was also elevated a foot or two

THE CAMP OF THE UNITED STATES TROOPS.

338.—Camp of a large United States military expedition. Showing the type of covered keel-boat, or barge, that was employed on the Missouri, and the defensive formation of a wagon train. Thus arranged the wagons virtually constituted a fort in case of attack. From the Dusseldorf series, after Lewis's drawing.

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above the actual bottom of the hull, so that an invasion of water might not damage whatever goods were stored there. The freight frequently rose high above the sides of the boat, and in all weathers was protected by a huge tarpaulin of skins made after the fashion in which the covering for a bull-boat was put together. Four men besides the steersman usually constituted the crew of a mackinaw. They worked from earliest dawn to nightfall, and sometimes moved more than a hundred miles a day, though the average speed of a mackinaw was four or five miles an hour. After such a boat reached St. Louis it was sold as lumber for a few dollars.

The first steamboat which appeared on the Missouri —that curious vessel used by Long in his expedition of 1819—got as far up the river as the present city of Council Bluffs, but it was not until ten years afterward that a regular steam packet made its appearance on the stream. In 1829 a steamboat began to ply between St. Louis and Fort Leavenworth, and three years afterward, in 1832, similar craft built and operated by the American Fur Company began to undertake the long voyage to the distant reaches of the upper river. One or two boats made the extensive trip each year. The first of these was the *Yellowstone,* a side-wheel steamer one hundred and thirty feet long, nineteen feet wide and drawing about five feet of water. She succeeded in passing the mouth of the Niobrara River,[1] near which she was stopped by low water. After some delay she went on, and at last reached the present location of Pierre, in South Dakota, which marked the limit of her first voyage. In the following summer the same boat reached Fort Union, near the mouth of Yellowstone River. One of the passengers

[1] Northern Nebraska.

on the *Yellowstone* during her voyage of 1832 was the American artist George Catlin.[1] A second boat—the *Assiniboine*—accompanied the *Yellowstone* on the voyage of 1833, and both reached Fort Union. As a matter of fact that *Assiniboine* went some distance farther, was caught by low water as a penalty of her rashness, and was compelled to remain amid the snow and ice of that distant country until the following spring.[2]

The most comprehensive account of early steamboat travel on the Missouri River is that embraced in the memoirs of Joseph La Barge, a pioneer boatman, navigator and Indian trader.[3] The historian of La Barge's adventures has said:[4]

"No craft on our Western waters, if upon any waters of the globe, displayed more majesty and beauty, or filled the mind with more interesting reflections, than these picturesque vessels of the early days in the boundless prairies of the West. The very surroundings lent a peculiar attraction to the scene. In every direction the broad and treeless plains extended without water enough anywhere in sight even to suggest a boat. Winding through these plains was a deep valley several miles broad, with a ribbon of verdure running through it along the sinuous course of the river. Everything was still as wild and unsettled as before the advent of the white man, and there was little or nothing to suggest the civilization of the outside world. In the midst of this virgin wildness a noble steamboat appears, its handsome form standing high above the water in fine outline against the verdure of the shore; its lofty chimneys pouring forth clouds of smoke in the atmosphere unused to such intrusion, and its progress against the impetuous current exhibiting an extraordinary display of power. Altogether it formed one of the most notable scenes ever witnessed upon the waters of America. Naturally enough the wild Indian viewed with feelings of awe this great 'fire canoe,' whose power to 'walk on the water' had

[1] Whose drawings constitute an important part of existing pictorial records showing the conditions and native inhabitants of the region as they were at that time.

[2] Among the passengers of 1833 was Maximilian, Prince of Wied, then on a journey of sight-seeing and exploration in this continent. As the result of his trip up the Missouri he afterward published a textual account of his adventures, accompanied by a separate folio atlas containing a collection of the largest, finest and most important engravings in revelation of early travel conditions in the region penetrated by him that were ever produced.

[3] Whose life and adventures constitute the basis of Chittenden's "History of Early Steamboat Navigation on the Missouri River," to which work the present author is indebted for a number of incidents relating to the subject.

[4] Chittenden, p. 110.

339.—A large camp of Indians, adjoining the halting place of the troops pictured in the foregoing. Showing tépees and the ordinary sort of native canoe. Dusseldorf series, drawn by Lewis.

subdued the intractable current to its own will. It is said to have been the advent of the steamboat which finally turned the scale of the Indians' favor toward the Americans as against the British."

The experience of Long's boat, which halted at Council Bluffs, and of the *Yellowstone* and *Assiniboine,* which with their draught of five feet were stopped by low water, resulted in the altered construction of later Missouri River steamboats. They were afterward made with flat bottoms, so that a vessel two hundred feet long and thirty feet in width could be navigated successfully in two and a half feet of water. Later boats were also equipped with stern-wheels instead of side-wheels. One very unusual feature of a flat-bottomed Missouri River

steamboat found its expression in the hold. The craft was there equipped with a little railway and tram-cars, which ran all around the circumference of the freight quarters for the purpose of lending greater facility to the handling of bulky articles. Although doubtless not so intended in the first place, those little railways of Missouri River packets sometimes played a peculiar part—later to be mentioned—in the commerce of the river, in social conditions along its course, and in the history of the extensive country through which the steamers found their long and winding course.

Steamboat navigation on the Missouri was even more difficult than on the Ohio, the Mississippi, or any other stream whereon steam had superseded the primitive craft of earlier years. Besides being filled with snags and sandbars, and being extraordinarily tortuous in its windings, the big river of the West was consistently erratic regarding its course through any given locality. Owing to the soil of the region, and to its freshets and other seasonal conditions, the bed of the stream was constantly shifting its position throughout nearly the whole of the twenty-six hundred miles with which its navigators were required by their business to be unremittingly familiar. The stream would often find itself flowing through a tract of country that lay miles away from the bed it had occupied during the preceding week. The almost hopeless task of maintaining an up-to-date knowledge of the river and its whims was once suggested by a western newspaper,[1] which said:

"Of all the variable things in creation the most uncertain are the action of a jury, the state of a woman's mind, and the condition of the Missouri River."

[1] The "Sioux City Register," of March 28, 1868.

If a steamboat was unfortunate enough to reach a spot where the river was at that moment in the process of altering its course the vessel found itself in real danger, for whirlpools and other violent agitations of the water were caused by the changing of the current. An incident of the sort has been thus described:

"The whirl of the water was so swift that the center of the eddy was nearly twelve feet below its circumference. The boat was trying to pull itself by with a line when it was caught by the eddy, swung out in the stream, whirled violently around and careened over until the river flowed right across the lower deck. Wood and all other movable material were swept off, and two men were drowned. Only the mate's presence of mind in slacking off the line saved the boat."[1]

The scenes marking the commencement of the long voyage up the Missouri during the early years of its navigation were thus told by La Barge:

"The departure from port [St. Louis] was always attended with more or less carousing and revelry, particularly in the keelboat and early steamboat days, when a trip up the river might mean years of absence. The kind of farewell that captured the fancy of the average voyageur was a general debauch, which often disqualified him from being ready when the hour of departure arrived. Sometimes these delinquents who failed to appear hied themselves across the country to St. Charles and joined the boat there. . . . As the boat swung out into the stream a running salute of musketry was kept up by the mountaineers and others until it was out of hearing. The roll was then called, and the engagés were given their parcels of clothing. Next began the work of putting the boat deck in order for the trip. The bales of goods, which were strewn about in disorderly heaps, were carefully stowed away, and before night the boat was reduced to the appearance which it would wear during the remainder of the trip. . . .

"The passengers composed an even more heterogeneous mixture than the cargo itself. There were, first, the regular boat crew, numbering from thirty to forty. Very likely there were several Indians returning home from St. Louis or even from Washington. Then there were recruits for the various trading companies, consisting of hunters, trappers, voyageurs and mountaineers, and possibly a company of soldiers for some military service. Nearly always there were passengers distinguished for wealth or scientific attainment, who were making the

[1] Chittenden, pp. 122-3. The steamboat involved was the "Miner," and the scene of her misadventure was near Sioux City, Iowa.

340.—A party of Yankton Sioux watching a steamboat ascending the Missouri. Published in Stuttgart from a sketch made by the German artist and traveller, Frederick Kurz, in 1851. A regular annual steam packet service had been established to the upper river in 1832.

journey for pleasure or research. Government exploring parties generally traveled by boat to the initial point of their expeditions. In all there were from one hundred to two hundred people on board, with sufficient variety to insure vivacity and interest, however monotonous the journey might otherwise be. . . .

"While the officers and crew were kept alert and active the livelong day in getting their boat up the troublesome stream, the passengers whiled away their time as best they could. Games of all practicable sorts were indulged in. It was a common pastime to stand on the forecastle or boiler deck and shoot at geese and ducks on the river. Now and then the sight of deer and other animals enlivened the moment, and occasionally the appearance of Indians on the bank caused a flutter of excitement. To relieve the tedium of the voyage it was a common thing, when there was no danger from the Indians, to land at the beginning of extensive bends and ramble across the country to the other side, rejoining the boat when it came along. . . .

"Among the important events of every voyage were the arrivals at the various trading posts. To the occupants of these remote stations, buried in the depths of the wilderness, shut out for months from any glimpse of the world outside, the coming of the annual boat was an event of even greater interest than to the passengers themselves.[1] Generally the persons in charge of the post, with some of the employees, would drop down the river two or three days' ride and meet the boat. When she drew near the post, salutes would be exchanged, the colors displayed, and the passengers would throng the deck to greet the crowds which lined the bank. The exigencies of navigation never left much time for celebration and conviviality. The exchange of cargo was carried on with the utmost dispatch, and the moment the business was completed the boat proceeded on her way. These are some of the typical features of steamboat life as it used to exist on the Missouri River."[2]

Two of the principal problems attending the long trip of a pioneer Missouri River steamboat were the question of securing fuel to keep the boat in motion, and the feeding of the one or two hundred people on board. Enormous quantities of wood were required for the furnaces, and its procurement was not always an easy matter. The cottonwood trees which grew in profusion along the shores furnished the principal source of supply,

[1] The "remote stations" and their inhabitants who were "shut out for months from any glimpse of the world outside," were the pioneer white inhabitants of the region now included in western Iowa, eastern Nebraska, and North and South Dakota.

[2] Chittenden, pp. 126-132.

but green cottonwood made poor fuel, and its combustion usually had to be stimulated by the use of resin. A big drift log, either on the shore or in the stream itself, was always a prize to the engineer. After a few years certain points of fuel supply called "wood yards" were established, but as the Indians owned the country they often objected to the free use of its products, and refused to let the white travellers cut wood without cost. In some localities they themselves supplied fuel to the boats on a business basis. In order to circumvent the natives and to reduce the danger attendant upon their opposition Captain La Barge on one occasion equipped one of his steamboats with a saw-mill, and in addition carried with him on deck a yoke of oxen. When he had need of more wood he swung out a heavy landing stage, drove the oxen ashore, hastily dragged a number of logs aboard by their aid and then sawed the trees in his mill as he kept on his way up the river.

The food furnished to passengers on the canoes, keelboats, pirogues and other craft of the river before steamboats appeared, and even for a short time after the appearance of the mechanical vessels, was of monotonous simplicity. It consisted almost entirely of fat pork, beans, corn and coffee, with the occasional addition of flapjacks. Fare of this description had sufficed for the trappers and other hardy men who were the first to move regularly back and forth along the river. But as soon as scientists and other men of more diversified tastes and experience appeared in St. Louis and sought accommodations on boats about to start up stream, their presence was reflected in the larders of the craft on which they were about to embark. The prospect of subsisting for many months on salt pork did not appeal to them, and in order to satisfy their de-

mand for fresh meat the steamboats employed on the river added new members to their regular crews in the shape of hunters, whose only duty it was to kill game for the table. The steamboat hunter was never required to perform physical labor of any sort. The vessel tied up for the night as soon as darkness fell, and about midnight the hunter was put ashore.[1] From that hour until the middle of the forenoon it was his duty, if possible, to kill enough deer, antelope, bears, bison or ducks to satisfy the company so largely dependent on his rifle. He scoured the country ahead of the boat—which was not due to start until about four o'clock in the morning—and whenever he shot any desired animal he hung it up in some conspicuous tree close to a bank of the river. When the boat finally started a sentry was placed on the upper deck whose sole responsibility was to keep a sharp lookout for suspended provender. So, from sunrise until nine or ten o'clock, the sentry in question might occasionally be heard to shout: "Buffalo quarter on the starboard bow"; "Deer on the starboard bow"; "Bunch of ducks on the port bow"; and so on, as the case might be. And whenever he spied any food thus left by the hunter a skiff would be put off from the boat and the trophies quickly brought aboard to be delivered into the hands of the cook. Finally the hunter himself would be observed and sent for, and he then had nothing more to do until the next night.

Allusion has been made to the little railways with which some of the Missouri River steamboats were equipped. The *Omega*, which was one of the boats that went up the river in 1843, had such a tramway in her hold, and one of her passengers was Audubon, the naturalist. The principal event of the trip that year was a little

[1] Or else paddled away himself, in a small canoe.

341 —Farthest up-stream point reached during the days of Missouri River steamboat travel, and greatest distance from the sea attained by a steamboat on any water course. Fort Benton, in the present state of Montana, was 3,575 miles from the ocean by way of the rivers, and the boats at that spot rode nearly half a mile above sea level.

drama wherein the leading parts were played by the tramway and the distinguished traveller just named.[1]

The customary severe Federal laws forbidding the importation of liquor into the countries owned by the Indians were then on the statute books, but were, as ever, disregarded by those white men who traded in such places. It was into lands still owned by Indians that the *Omega* was running, and she had on board a considerable quantity of the unlawful commodity. The American Fur Company, which owned the vessel and was trying to smuggle the liquor to its trading posts up the river, had to get the contraband material past two places where river cargoes were subjected to Federal inspection. The salient features then characterizing the use of whisky in connection with the Indian trade of the West were thus explained by La Barge to Chittenden:[2]

"Liquor was the one article above all others that the traders considered indispensable to their business, and they never failed to smuggle it through in some way or other. In the earlier years there was only one place at which the cargoes going up the river were inspected, and that was Fort Leavenworth. Later, when an Indian agency was established at Bellevue that place also became a point of detention. At that particular time it [Bellevue] was the bête noire of the American Fur Company traders. The military authorities at Fort Leavenworth, from long experience in the country and intimate knowledge of conditions prevailing there, exercised their office as inspectors with reasonable judgment and discretion. They understood very well that the small competing traders would smuggle liquor past them in spite of all they could do, and that to deprive the only responsible company on the river of its means of maintaining itself was simply to debauch the trade with the Indians to a reckless and demoralizing rivalry among a horde of irresponsible traders. They were, therefore, very lenient in their inspections, and the company rarely had any difficulty in getting past them.

"Not so, however, with some of the newly-appointed Indian agents.

[1] The story about to be told is contained in Chittenden's "History of Early Steamboat Navigation on the Missouri River." La Barge was pilot of the "Omega" during the voyage, and his log book of the trip was used by Chittenden, to whom La Barge personally narrated the circumstances. Audubon's journal of his trip also furnishes some testimony regarding the matters here discussed.

[2] "History of Early Steamboat Navigation on the Missouri River," pp. 142-3.

It was about this time that the Indian Department tried the experiment of assigning clergymen to the agencies—an example of good intentions but bad judgment. These new agents showed more zeal than discretion in their work, and although they put the traders to a great deal of trouble, it is doubtful if they lessened by a single drop the amount of liquor carried into the country."[1]

When the *Omega* reached Bellevue the Indian agent was absent. Captain Sire,[2] delighted with his good luck, hastily despatched his business and continued up the river for several miles—in his anxiety to escape inspection—before tying up for the night at nine o'clock. But in the morning, just as the boat was getting under way again, rifle shots were fired across her bow and an army officer came on board with information that his captain would later arrive to inspect the vessel.

Audubon then entered the action of the frontier play.[3] He promptly set forth across the country, reached the army camp before the military officer had started to inspect the boat, and talked to the captain for about two hours. In the meantime Captain Sire and his crew had been busy. They loaded all the contraband whisky on the tram-cars which stood on the rails in the dark hold, and pushed them to that part of the boat farthest removed from the hatchway through which it was planned the captain should enter on his work of inspection. No accident spoiled the arrangements. La Barge said: "When Captain B—— arrived in Audubon's company, he was received most hospitably and treated to a luncheon in which was included, as a matter of course, a generous

[1] This statement by a man who was himself a prominent cog in the machinery of Indian trade, indicates that the system previously practised by white men in dealing with Indians east of the Mississippi had been transplanted to the West as soon as the Indians had been removed from their former eastern possessions. From La Barge's narrative it seems presumable that the Caucasian introduction of liquor into Indian relations had attained an importance even greater than before, for he describes liquor as "one article above all others that the [western] traders considered indispensable to their business."

[2] Commander of the boat.

[3] Audubon himself had a permit from the government allowing him to carry a quantity of liquor for the use of his party, and encountered no personal difficulty in the matter. To use his own words, he was "immediately settled comfortably."

portion from the provided store embraced in Audubon's 'credentials.' By this time the young captain was in most excellent temper and was quite disposed to forego the inspection altogether."[1] Captain Sire said: "I insisted, as it were, that he make the strictest possible search, but on the condition that he would do the same with other traders."[2]

Then the steamboat captain escorted his official guest down through the hatchway, and the inspection began under the illumination of a candle accommodatingly held by a member of the crew. Nothing suspicious was found. As the governmental officer and his escort slowly approached the farther end of the boat the cavalcade of incriminating tram-cars on the other side of the cargo was gently and noiselessly pushed in the opposite direction, and thus the procession completed the circumnavigation of the hold. The boat and her freight emerged virtuous from the ordeal, mutual assurances of esteem were exchanged between the scientist, the army officer and the steamboat captain, and the craft glided on her way up the river in peace.

The annual voyage of 1844 was made by the *Nimrod,* which was also navigated by the same captain and pilot. The *Nimrod* had an experience somewhat similar to that just described, and the incident was told by La Barge as follows:

"In passing the Indian agency at Bellevue this year it was necessary to indulge in some more sharp practice to get the annual cargo of alcohol past that point. The new Indian agent at Bellevue was an ex-Methodist minister of the name of Joseph Miller—as zealous in his new rôle of liquor inspector as he had ever been in the regular practice

[1] "History of Early Steamboat Navigation on the Missouri," p. 146.

[2] Sire's record of the matter was set down in his log under date of May 10th. The original transcription was in French, as follows: "Je force en quelque sorte l'officier à faire un recherche aussi stricte que possible, mais à la condition qu'il en sera de même avec les autres traiteurs."

of his profession. It was his boast that no liquor could pass his agency. He rummaged every boat from stem to stern, broke open the packages, overturned the piles of merchandise, and with a long, slender, pointed rod pierced the bales of blankets and clothing, lest kegs of alcohol might be rolled up within. The persistent clergyman put the experienced agents of the company to their wit's end, and it was with great difficulty that they succeeded in eluding his scrutiny."[1]

Captain Sire's solution of the perplexing problem on this occasion was an inspiration of genius. When he reached Bellevue he simply put the whisky ashore under the agent's nose, packed in barrels of flour. Paying no attention whatever to the freight already disembarked, the agent made his usual minute examination of the *Nimrod* and her cargo. He found nothing at all, which circumstance he could not understand, for he felt certain that the boat was trying to smuggle liquor as usual. After he had gone to bed the barrels of flour were put on board again, and the boat resumed her voyage.

Thus did the big steam canoes of the white men slowly creep farther and still farther westward into the immense and little known spaces which were then the last stronghold of the native races. In such manner were the new mechanical travel vehicles of the Caucasians employed in the work which had for its purpose the subjugation of the Indians and acquirement of their remaining territories. After the *Assiniboine* attained a point beyond the mouth of the Yellowstone in 1834 a period of nineteen years elapsed before her feat was surpassed by another steamboat. In 1853 a vessel named *El Paso* outdistanced the *Assiniboine's* record by about one hundred and twenty-five miles and passed the mouth of Milk River. Finally, in 1860, the *Chippewa* and the *Key West* arrived at the distant location of Fort Benton in the

[1] "History of Early Navigation on the Missouri," pp. 156-7.

present state of Montana, and in so doing they "reached a point further from the sea by a continuous water course than any other boat had ever been."[1] The vessels were then no less than 3,575 miles from the Gulf of Mexico, and in vertical height were almost half a mile above sea level.

Having observed pioneer conditions attending the use of a water route into the far West, we come now in due course to the five remaining features of importance connected with the Caucasian conquest of the West by overland travel. Those several phases of the subject are the relation of the Indians to white travel between the Mississippi valley and the Pacific Ocean; the movement to Oregon; the wanderings of the Mormons across the country to the present state of Utah; the various aspects of the exodus to California, and finally, the completion of the whole work through the building of a railway by which the oceans were joined and the continent was spanned by a modern transportation method.

[1] Chittenden's "Early Steamboat Navigation on the Missouri," p. 219.

CHAPTER L

THE RELATION OF THE INDIANS OF THE WEST TO TRANSCONTINENTAL TRAVEL — RED PEOPLES NATIVE TO THE REGION BEYOND THE MISSISSIPPI STILL RETAINED THEIR SELF-RULE AND OWNED MOST OF THE LAND WHEN THE GREAT OVERLAND MIGRATIONS BEGAN — INDIANS TRANSPLANTED FROM THEIR EASTERN HOMES ALSO FORMED A BARRIER TO WHITE MOVEMENT JUST WEST OF THE MISSISSIPPI — TREATY RELATIONS BETWEEN THE GOVERNMENT AND THE WESTERN TRIBES — THE NATIVES ARE PAID LARGE SUMS FOR THEIR CONSENT TO WHITE TRAVEL TOWARD THE PACIFIC AND FOR THE PRIVILEGE OF BUILDING RAILROADS

THE penetration, by the Caucasians, of that part of the continent west of the Mississippi resulted in a long series of race troubles somewhat similar to those which had distinguished the earlier history of the East. The native resentment manifested against fur-hunting expeditions in the upper Missouri valley just prior to 1825 may be considered as marking the commencement of such difficulties, and they continued, in one form or another, until after the completion of the first transcontinental railway.

Just as had been the case in the East, the white government negotiated with the western tribes, nations and confederacies by treaty, recognizing their ownership of land

and right of self-government. Some of the remote tribes conceded the sovereignty of the United States at an early day, while in other instances the treaties with them—by implication or otherwise—left that important question surrounded by uncertainty and doubt.

During the various migrations of English speaking Americans through the West—whose principal features are soon to be noticed—there constantly existed a very close relation between the Indian problem and white travel. Particularly was this true of the period beginning with the rush to California in 1849 and continuing until 1869. The Federal government of the United States, between those years, paid millions of dollars to the red nations beyond the Mississippi in return for the privilege of free and unmolested transit across native territories, and secured such rights by negotiations similar to the treaties which had led to their acquirement of many travel routes in the older sections of the country.[1]

The Indian nations native to the West were at no time so advanced in the arts and customs of civilized life as were their ethnological relatives of the East. Those of the far Southwest maintained many permanent towns, and some few tribes farther to the north carried on a little agricultural work in a small way, but the nature of the country and climate in which they lived dictated their manner of life. They were of necessity nomadic, or semi-nomadic, shaping their yearly routine in harmony with the habits of the living food and fur supply on which their existence so largely depended, and moving their villages, trapping camps and hunting parties periodically,

[1] For the purpose of these pages it has been considered more desirable to give an outline of this phase of western travel in one brief chapter, as a connected and chronological narrative, than to scatter the information through various subsequent chapters in disconnected form.

342.—A Blackfoot Indian. From a drawing by Carl Bodmer. Many natives of the plains and foothills were wonderful horsemen, and though they did not dare attack caravans of large size, even if so inclined, they frequently harassed the marching columns. Some of the tribes and bands carried away horses when possible, or else caused the animals to stampede at night. The feeling of the native Indians of the West, at sight of the immense Caucasian migrations, was probably a composite of anger, fear and despair.

in accord with the changes of the seasons. Many of the important native groups in that part of the continent ranged over areas vastly larger than the territories of the eastern red nations, and the boundaries of the countries occupied by them were never so definitely fixed.

Extensive dealings between the Federal government and the western Indians began in 1825. During the summer of that year—as a result of action previously taken in Monroe's administration and partly in conse-

quence of the three battles with white fur-trappers—an embassy visited several tribes of the Missouri valley and adjacent regions[1] and negotiated important treaties with them. Certain provisions contained in the agreement signed with the Ogallala Sioux on July 25 will indicate the nature of the understanding then reached. In Article I the natives admitted "that they reside within the territorial limits of the United States." In Article II they agreed "to give safe conduct to all persons who may be legally authorized by the United States to pass through their country." Article III provided that any white man resident among the Indians, and who was wanted by the United States, would be extradited "on the requisition or demand of the President of the United States."

Similar stipulations, in substantially identical language, were contained in the other treaties of 1825. Those instruments laid the foundation for official regulation of Caucasian travel in the far West. The next treaty of consequence[2] was that with the confederated Pawnees living on the Platte and Loup Rivers. They ceded all their lands lying south of the Platte River, agreed to remove north of that stream, and "not to molest or injure the person or property of any white citizen of the United States, wherever found." For these cessions and pledges the Pawnees—in addition to cash—demanded and received agricultural instruments, schools, iron, blacksmiths' shops, mills, live stock and practical farm tuition. They acknowledged no jurisdiction of the whites over them or their remaining territories. Still another significant negotiation of the same period was that with the

[1] The Ogallala Sioux; Cheyenne; Teton, Yancton and Yanctonies Sioux; Hunkpapa Sioux; Arikara; Minitorees; Mandans; Crows and Pawnees.
[2] October 9, 1833.

Comanche and Wichita.[1] It was desired by the United States as a safeguard for the rapidly increasing travel and commerce over the Santa Fé trail, and provided[2] that "the citizens of the United States are freely permitted to pass and repass through their [the Indian] settlements or hunting ground without molestation or injury on their way to any of the provinces of the Republic of Mexico, or returning therefrom."

The Cherokee, Choctaw, Osage, Seneca and Quapaw nations were likewise native signatories to this agreement, and they, together with the Comanche and Wichita, were in return given free permission to hunt and trap "to the western limits of the United States." A decided international flavor was also imparted to the document by a proviso that the pledges made to the United States by the red nations should "in no respect interrupt their friendly relations with the Republic of Mexico." That such promises and understandings on the part of the whites were not the result of accident or vacillating impulse was indicated two years afterward, when[3] they asked a similar favor of the Kiowa and other prairie nations in behalf of traffic over the Santa Fé trail and in payment gave them similar rights of movement to the western limits of white sovereignty and recognized their friendly relations with Mexico. Those two instruments considerably increased the number of Indians who had acquired, by treaty, the right to journey, hunt and trap at will throughout the western possessions of the Caucasians.

The Kansa tribe, in January of 1846, ceded some two million acres of their lands to the white government and were paid about ten cents an acre therefor. A few months

[1] August 24, 1835.
[2] In Article III.
[3] May 26, 1837.

afterward—as a result of recent developments and impending political troubles in the Southwest—the Federal government induced a number of southwestern tribes[1] to place themselves under the protection of the United States. The natives involved, however, retained their lands and self-government.

343.—The bison. Principal source of such food supply as could be obtained during a transcontinental trip. An outpost bull on guard. From a drawing by the naturalist and artist, Carl Bodmer.

Up to the year 1846 the principal international dealings between the United States and the western Indians—save one—were those just recited. They had been an outgrowth of white movement along the Santa Fé trail and the Missouri River, and had not been accompanied, as a rule, either with threats or attempts to awe the red men by military force used as part of the diplomatic machinery. But by 1845 a new phase of the white inva-

[1] The Comanche, Aionia, Anadarko, Caddo, Lipan, Wichita, Waco and others.

sion had developed in the West. The migrations to Oregon were in progress, overland caravan travel by large parties had begun, and the Rocky Mountains and northwest coast on the Pacific were involved. As a result of this phenomenon the attitude of the natives was undergoing a change. Especially was this true in the region through which the Oregon immigrants were passing. The Indians saw they had underestimated the strength and numbers of the whites, and began to realize more clearly the menace contained in the white caravans. Then was adopted, also, the policy under which the white government thereafter systematically carried on its dealings with the natives of the far western country. A description of the peculiar ceremonies and other events, and of the statement made by the Federal commander on the occasion when that policy was first visibly manifested, was written and printed soon after it took place. The meeting in question was held at Fort Laramie, on the Oregon trail, in the summer of 1845, and the most detailed and interesting unofficial account of it is that embodied by two white travellers named Johnson and Winter, in a book which they published during the following year.[1] Their statement ran:

"The Sioux and Shians, [Cheyenne] who, next to the Black Feet, are the terror of the mountains, and the tribes which had been the cause of our greatest dread, were now [July, 1845] not so much to be feared. . . . They were beginning to have a much better idea of the strength of the whites. Formerly they had considered that they were weak, and that their numbers were very small. When the Emigration of 1843 passed through their country they told the traders at Fort Laramie that they believed it to be the white people's big village, and the last of the race. Under this belief they entertained serious notions of going back and taking possession of the country which they had abandoned. But an Emigration of twelve hundred the following year, and one of three

[1] "Route Across the Rocky Mountains, etc." Some further account of this little-known book, and references to it, are contained in a subsequent chapter dealing with the Oregon migrations.

thousand the present year, had an effect to open their eyes; and they began to respect their power. Col. Carney's visit this year, with two or three hundred dragoons, had even made them to fear a little, and would, we believed, have a tendency to promote our safety. He had not only passed through the whole extent of their country, as far as the South Pass, but had called together at Fort Laramie as great a number of those tribes as he could; among these were many of their Chiefs and braves, with whom he held a council; not only warning them of the punishment which they would receive if they continued to molest and kill the Americans, but operating on their superstition by a display of such things as, to them, were mysterious and supernatural.

"After he had had a long talk with the Chiefs, and told them what he wished them to do, and what not to do, in respect to the white people passing through their country, he obtained from them a promise that they would henceforth, in these respects, act according to his wishes and requests. Having obtained this promise, which without the addition of fear would have been violated as freely as it had been given, he determined to work a little, if possible, upon their superstitions. The dragoons, with all military show, were paraded, and a field piece rolled out upon the prairie. The Colonel then proclaimed to all the Chiefs and braves, and to all the Indians assembled, that he was about to inform the Great Spirit of their promise, and call him to witness the covenant they had made. He bade them look up and listen. A sky-rocket rose in the air, and darting away on its mission, had almost buried itself in the bosom of the sky when it burst, flashed in the heavens, reported to the Great Mysterious, resolved itself again into its airy form, and the errand was accomplished. Another, and another; three of the fiery messengers arose in succession into the presence of the Great Spirit and announced to him that the Sioux and Shians had entered into a solemn covenant with a Chief of the white people to be their friends, and to respect forever their lives and property.

"While they stood, with all the awe which ignorance and blind superstition could inspire, gazing into the heavens where just now they had been luminous with the mysterious display, a cannon was discharged; and while its deafening thunder shook the field, the ball, flying far away across the plain, bounding and rebounding, tore the earth and marked its dusty track with clouds.

"'That,' said the Colonel, 'was to open your ears, that you might not be deaf to what I am about to say. Can you hear?'

"'Yes,' replied the Chiefs, 'we can hear.'

"The second was discharged, roaring still louder than the first; and the ball again proved the power of the mighty engine that sent it. 'Can you hear, I say?' demanded the Colonel. 'Yes,' they replied a little submissively, 'we can hear well.' Again the cannon told, still louder. Three times it thundered in their ears. 'Can you hear?' reiterated the Colonel. 'I say, can you hear?' 'We are not deaf; we can hear well;

our ears are open. Speak. Let the great Chief of the white people speak whatever he wishes.'

"Colonel Carney addressed them. 'I am,' he said, 'very little. The Great Chief of the white people is afar: he is in the bosom of a mighty nation; and his warriors around him are like the grass upon the prairie, or the sands which cover the plains. He told me to go and talk to the Sioux and Shians, and I obeyed him. I am here. A thousand Chiefs who are mightier than I wait to do his commands. He loves his friends, and is kind to them, but to his enemies, to those who destroy the lives of his people, he is dreadful. As the storm when it walks upon the mountains and treads down the pines, so terrible are the warriors of the Great Chief when they come upon their foes. Beware then, lest ye make him angry. Think before you break the pipe which we have smoked together in friendship. Think well before you violate the covenant you have made with me and with my people, and to which we have called the Great Spirit to witness. Talk to your young men; counsel them that are foolish; tell them that we are mighty, and terrible in war. Bid them pause, and think, and tremble, before they spill again the blood of a white man. The past we will forget; it is buried. We will soon return to our homes with the tidings of peace: but when we hear that your hands have spilt one drop more of the blood of our countrymen, we will come again. We will come with war. We will revenge all the wrongs that we have ever received. Then your eyes shall not be dry from weeping over your fallen warriors, and the blood of your nations shall not cease to flow until we are weary from destroying. You say that you can hear. We will see. Be careful that your ears do not forget.'

"They all answered: 'It is good.'

"Such, we believe, is about the sense in which we understood Mr. Bisonette, describing the treaty made by Col. Carney with the Sioux and Shians. He is one of the principal partners in the neighboring trading establishment, Fort Platte, and we presume that it is mainly correct. He gave us as his opinion that for a time it would have a favorable influence over the conduct of the Indians; but that it would soon be forgotten and disregarded, and that nothing but a strong military post, located in their country, could keep them in awe and make the lives of Americans safe among them."[1]

Johnson and Winter, in addition, gave the following advice to overland travellers concerning their intercourse with the natives they met:

"The character of the Indians will be learned from our preceding remarks. The manner in which they are treated will, of course, make

[1] Johnson and Winter: pp. 121-124.

a great difference in their disposition towards those who chance to meet with them. They should never be trusted, nor should they, if it can be avoided, be allowed to have the advantage in any particular. And while everything that would be calculated to give them offense should be carefully avoided by those who wish to go in peace, they should at the same time be constantly held at a distance. The emigrant should refrain from all familiarity himself, and discourage it in them. In trading with them he should make use of few words; never attempt to deceive, and be prompt to the letter, in fulfilling every promise. Few presents should be given them, and those few should appear to be given, rather as an expression of friendship than to conciliate their favor. Under all circumstances, the least expression of fear should be sternly avoided. From the late difficulties with the Shoshonee Diggers, and with the Walawalas—to which we have referred—these tribes will not likely be well disposed towards emigrants."[1]

Following the Oregon migrations came the march of the Mormons to Utah, but that movement, large though it was, did not suffice to disturb—much less to disrupt—the entire native system then prevailing throughout the western half of the continent. The penetration and occupation of the last Indian territories, within a few years, could only have been brought about by an event such as took place almost immediately afterward, and the difficulties confronted by both races can be indicated by outlining the geographical positions and governmental relations of the opposing peoples just before the critical year of 1849.

A period of forty-four years elapsed between the transcontinental journey made by Lewis and Clark, and the discovery of gold by Marshall in 1848. During that interval eight or ten other governmental expeditions had spent either months or years in wandering through the areas between the Mississippi and the Pacific Ocean, and had returned to civilization with accounts of its native peoples, of the physical peculiarities of very narrow strips of the region, and natural conditions there

[1] Johnson and Winter: p. 145.

observed. A small though constant flow of Caucasian travel along the natural highway formed by the Missouri River had given to the eastern states a considerable amount of information regarding the country in the immediate vicinity of that stream. Another path of white travel

344.—West-bound white men had no right to halt and settle on the prairies beyond Missouri and Iowa until the lands had been acquired by the government from the Indians. As that right was gradually obtained a part of the immigrants from the East paused in Kansas and Nebraska, built cabins and tilled the soil.

penetrated to the Mexican—and former Mexican—possessions in the Southwest, in the shape of the Santa Fé trail over which white movement was carried on by permission of the Indians. And, in addition, a relatively small but spectacular overland migration to the Oregon country and to Utah had given two new footholds in the West to the rapidly expanding nation.

But in spite of these things the wide wastes between the central valley and the Pacific still remained almost wholly unoccupied by the white race and almost

equally unknown to it. Until as recent a date as 1820 it was believed that a large river flowed almost directly westward from the main system of the Rocky Mountains of Colorado, and emptied into the Pacific Ocean through the Bay of San Francisco.[1] The only detailed knowledge of the region possessed by the government or available to the mass of people related to natural conditions existing in the neighborhood of the Missouri River and the Oregon and Santa Fé trails. Immense areas still remained concerning which no reliable information existed. A few military outposts had been established on the travelled routes, just as blockhouses had been built beyond the uttermost settlements of the eastern wilderness long before. But the real social frontier of the English speaking population stopped with the permanent settlements that had been established in Missouri, Arkansas and Iowa. Even Wisconsin—which had not been erected into a state from the last remnant of the old Northwest Territory until 1848—had its white population grouped along its eastern and southern edges, and along the Mississippi River on its western border. Nearly all the new state still remained a virgin forest unoccupied by white people.

To the westward of Iowa, Missouri and Arkansas there lay a solid phalanx of Indian tribes which extended in an unbroken line from central Texas to the British dominions far to the northward. The Comanches and Kiowas were in Texas. Immediately across the western boundary of Arkansas were the new countries given to the Chickasaws, Choctaws, Creeks and Seminoles when those tribes had been removed from their former posses-

[1] Melish's fifty-sheet map of 1820 indicates the general course of such a stream, with an accompanying inscription which says, "Supposed course of a river between the Buena Ventura and the Bay of San Francisco, which will probably be the communication from the Arkansas to the Pacific Ocean."

sions east of the Mississippi. The Cherokees were established west of Missouri, as were also the Potawatomi, Senecas, Shawnees, Delawares, Kickapoos and Iowas. To the westward of the lands occupied by those transplanted red peoples were the territories still owned and occupied by the Cheyennes, Arapahoes, Pawnees and the many tribes of the powerful and far-flung Siouxan stock. The Sioux were also strongly established in what is now the state of Minnesota, and from that region westward. Some of these nations, it will be remembered, held their new possessions under Federal guarantees that they should never again be included in or surrounded by Caucasian commonwealths; that they might henceforward have free access from their new homes to the Pacific Ocean; and that they should not again be subject to laws of white states.

This formidable rampart of native races had been in process of erection by the Federal government for nearly twenty years, and the circumstances under which it had been brought into existence, together with certain events that had taken place since its creation, had tended to give the transplanted tribes a considerable feeling of security. They were self-governed communities in accordance with immemorial custom or the stipulations of the treaties negotiated with them; the government had respected native rights connected with white travel through Indian territories, and on several occasions had restrained or ejected Caucasian individuals or groups of individuals who had sought to establish themselves on Indian lands. Some of the tribes native to the western part of the continent, and who still lived in localities they had occupied from time immemorial, had negotiated treaties with the United States government. Others had not; but all the

345.—A wagon train attacked by Indians. Whenever the number of wagons was sufficient, or there was time to perform the necessary manœuvre, the vehicles were formed into a circle or hollow square to resist an onslaught. From a drawing by Captain S. Eastman, U. S. A.

natives indigenous to the West still lived and carried on their pursuits in regions to which their rights had not been questioned. And although a part of the Indians native to the West were at times on terms of hostility to other tribes of the same sort, or to transplanted tribes, it may nevertheless be easily understood that knowledge of the Federal guarantees given to some of them during the fourth decade could have permeated all the aboriginal population then living to the westward of the most advanced permanent Caucasian settlements.

Although the red peoples of the West had been living for a short time under conditions which—to them—gave some promise of future permanence and security, they no doubt realized that if they again came into social con-

flict with the white race, or were menaced by another large advancing wave of the alien population, their situation would be desperate indeed.

That was the situation when the rush to California began, and from that time forth, for twenty years, the relations between the western Indians and the Federal government were shaped by the uncontrollable advance of the white men through lands which either belonged to the red men or over which the natives had been given treaty rights to move for their own domestic purposes. The national administration at Washington bought native territory as rapidly as possible in order that the people might find their way to the Pacific over routes not involved in or threatened by race troubles, but that process could not keep abreast of necessity, and, as before, permission for the overland travel in progress was sought and obtained by the previous treaty method. The Indians were continually involved in altercations with the marching hosts, whose members often gave scant heed to the rights of the peoples whose ancient homes they were overrunning. Probably only a very insignificant part of the white emigrants had any knowledge whatever of the endeavors made by their governmental servants to obtain for them, between 1849 and 1869, the right to move westward by wagon trains, stage-coaches and railways. They felt, and believed, that the ground they traversed was owned by them. A certain arrogance inevitably accompanied such a genuine conviction, and born of it —when it came into conflict with the anger and despair of the Indians—were the wars and other troubles that distinguished the final scenes of the long conquest.

The first of the native western red nations who, without qualification, acknowledged themselves to be under

the jurisdiction of the United States as well as under its protection were the Navahos and the Utes.[1] Each tribe, by treaty, agreed that "the people of the United States of America shall have free and safe passage through the territory of the aforesaid Indians, under such rules and regulations as may be adopted by authority of the said states." The Utes, in addition, pledged themselves "to cease the roving and rambling habits which have hitherto marked them as a people . . . and to support themselves by their own industry, aided and directed as it may be by the wisdom, justice, and humanity of the American people."

By the year 1851 it had become imperatively necessary to reach an understanding with the powerful nations flanking and containing the overland routes then being used by white emigrants in the North, and so a treaty with them was negotiated.[2] In it they granted "the right of the United States government to establish roads, military and other posts, within their respective territories," and in return the Federal government bound itself "to protect the aforesaid Indian nations against the commission of all depredations by the people of the said United States." In the following year the Apache acknowledged themselves to be under the laws, jurisdiction and government of the whites, and declared that "the people of the United States of America shall have free and safe passage through the territory of the aforesaid Indians."[3] The Comanche, Kiowa and Apache, in 1853,[4] gave the United States the right "to lay off and mark out roads for highways" within their territories; promised to abstain from

[1] By treaties dated September 9, 1849, and December 3, 1849, respectively.
[2] On September 17. The native signatory peoples were the Sioux, Dacota, Cheyenne, Arapaho, Crows, Assiniboin, Grosventres, Mandan and Arikara.
[3] Treaty of July 1, 1852.
[4] Treaty dated July 27.

346.—Many who started across the continent, or to an intermediate destination, never finished the journey. After a few years every mile beyond Missouri was dotted with the whitening bones of beasts that had fallen, and with mounds that marked the graves of men. Comparatively few travellers were killed by natives, but many succumbed to accident and to natural illness aggravated by exposure and hardship.

levying contributions on, or molesting whites who were lawfully residing in or passing through their countries; agreed to render assistance to such travellers as needed relief, and to facilitate their safe passage. In consideration for the roads thus permitted, and for "the losses which they may sustain by reason of the travel of the people of the United States through their territories," and for other reasons, the white government agreed to pay $180,000 and to "protect and defend the Indian tribes, parties hereto, against the committal of any depredations upon them, and in their territories, by the people of the United States."

It had already been realized that a transcontinental railroad was destined to be built in the near future, and governmental anticipation in that regard soon afterward became visible in the treaty stipulations providing for Caucasian travel through the West. Article XIV of an agreement with the Omaha, in 1854,[1] provided that necessary roads, highways and railroads which might be constructed on their lands "shall have a right of way through the reservations, a just compensation being paid therefor in money." The Shawnees gave a similar permission a few weeks later,[2] agreeing that all roads and highways laid out by authority of the law should have right of way through their lands, and that railroads might have like privileges, "on payment of a just compensation therefor in money." Still another tribe that made an identical concession during the same year was the Kickapoo, which gave railways a right of way through their "permanent home" as defined in the treaty.[3] The Choctaws and Chickasaws took identical action in behalf of future railroads at the urging of the United States in 1855,[4] and also conceded that telegraph lines might be built in their territories.

The year 1855 witnessed the drawing up of an important convention with the Blackfeet and Flathead nations of the Northwest. Article VIII said that "for the purpose of establishing thoroughfares through their country . . . the United States may, within the countries respectively occupied and claimed by them, construct roads of every description." For this and allied privileges the government agreed to pay $350,000. The

[1] Dated March 16.
[2] By the treaty of May 10, 1854.
[3] That of May 18, 1854. By this treaty the Kickapoo gave up a territory allotted to them as a permanent home in 1832.
[4] June 22.

347.—Fort Laramie. An important station on the Oregon trail, situated on the North Fork of the Platte River, in the eastern part of the present state of Wyoming.

Yankton Sioux, in 1858, also agreed that the whites might make roads across their country.

A treaty with the eastern Shoshoni, of Utah, re-established friendly relations between that tribe and the whites in 1863,[1] and much of its text related to the subject of the overland travel then in progress or in prospect. It said in Article II: "The several routes of travel through the Shoshonee country, now or hereafter used by white men, shall be and remain forever free and safe for the use of the government of the United States, and of all emigrants and travellers under its authority and protection . . . and the safety of all travellers passing peaceably over said routes is hereby guaranteed by said nation." The same article provided for the establishment of ferries and inns. Article III said: "The telegraph and overland stage lines having been established and operated through a part of the Shoshonee country, it is expressly agreed that the same may be continued without hindrance, molestation, or injury from the people of said nation; and that their property, and the lives of passengers in the stages, and of the employees of the respective companies, shall be protected by them." For these concessions the government paid $200,000, and an additional $10,000 for "the inconvenience resulting to the Indians in consequence of the driving away and destruction of game along the routes travelled by whites." Substantially identical treaties, for the same purpose, were negotiated during the same year with the Northwestern Shoshoni and the western Shoshoni.[2] The first named of these tribes was paid an annuity of $5,000 for its signatures, and the second received no less than $1,000,000, divided in twenty

[1] July 2.
[2] Dated July 30 and October 1, respectively.

installments of $50,000 each. The continued hostility of the Indians in question could have stopped a large part of the travel whose continuance they were thus induced to tolerate.

By this time the government had definitely committed itself to the building of a transcontinental railway, and in order to secure the good-will of the Shoshoni-Goship tribe to that undertaking a treaty was concluded[1] with the tribe in question which said: "It being understood that provision has been made by the Government of the United States for the construction of a railway from the plains west to the Pacific Ocean, it is stipulated by said bands that the said railway or its branches may be located, constructed, and operated, and without molestation from them, through any part of the country claimed or occupied by them." The Indians were paid $20,000 for their consent. Two years later, in 1865,[2] the Osage nation of Kansas gave a right of way to railroads, as well as to "all roads and highways" through "the remaining lands of said Indians."

At about this date the Federal government added another feature to the policy by which it was seeking to secure additional travel and traffic facilities to the Pacific, and the innovation may well be indicated by quoting Article IV of the treaty signed by the Miniconjou Sioux, of Dakota, on October 10, 1865. It read:

"The said band, represented in council, shall withdraw from the routes overland already established through their country; and in consideration thereof the Government of the United States agree to pay the said band the sum of ten thousand dollars annually for twenty

[1] October 12, 1863.
[2] Treaty of September 29.

years. . . ." This plan of inducing the natives to remove from the neighborhood of overland travel routes, and of paying them large sums for so doing, was put into extensive operation in the north, and was attended with advantages.[1] The Comanche and Kiowa tribes signed another treaty in 1865[2] permitting the United States to build roads or highways in their countries and providing that the "injury sustained by reason thereof by the Indians" should be compensated.

When the United States, in 1866, approached the Choctaw and Chickasaw nations with desire to obtain the privilege of building railroads through their territories, those advanced and still independent commonwealths conceded the request,[3] but laid down certain conditions far more extreme than had previously been named by any other tribe. The treaty, in its finished form, provided that their own legislatures, as well as the United States, might charter railways. It also stated that the two red nations might subscribe to the stock of such roads built by the whites, which stock so owned by them should have the force and effect of a first mortgage bond on all that part of the roads and their equipment in the nations' limits, and be a perpetual lien on the enterprises. In this unusual treaty the United States also again acknowledged the self-government of the two native parties to it, for, in Article VII, it was declared that whatever legislation was enacted by the United States in relation to the Indian Territory, "shall not in any wise interfere with or annul their [the Choctaws' and Chickasaws'] present tribal organizations, or their respective legislatures or judiciaries, or the rights,

[1] Other Sioux tribes paid for like action, with the sums they received: Lower Brule, $120,000; Two Kettle, $120,000; Blackfeet, $140,000; Upper Yanktonai, $200,000; Ogalalla, $200,000.

[2] October 18.

[3] Treaty of April 28.

348.—Wagon train approaching Fort Mohave, Arizona. In the days of the westward migrations the government's forts were resting places for caravans, as Fort Chissel and other stations had been during the travel over the wilderness roads of the East. Engraved on stone by George H. Boker of San Francisco. Date, about 1855.

laws, privileges, or customs of the Choctaw and Chickasaw nations respectively."

Both the Delawares of Kansas and the Cherokees, in 1866,[1] gave permission for the creation of railroads through their possessions, and in 1867[2] the long-disaffected Comanche and Kiowa signed a treaty whereby they agreed to withdraw all opposition to the construction of the overland railway then in progress along the Platte River and promised no longer to oppose any similar work which did not pass over their reservations. They also engaged not to attack travellers, wagon trains or stage-coaches. Similar or identical covenants were made by the Cheyenne, Arapaho and Sioux within the period between October of 1867 and April of 1868, and from that time onward the iron rails of the white men crept over the plains and through the mountains with ever-increasing rapidity until finally they supplanted the wagon trains and stage-coaches of a former day. The white men had obtained their desire. The facilities and permissions granted by the Indians throughout the West had brought among them such an overwhelming horde of opponents that any further resistance to Caucasian dominion was futile.

A summary of the race relations in the West—in which much of truth is mingled with some error and contradiction—has been set down in the following words:[3]

"It was a sad day to the tribes of the Missouri Valley, as to every other, when the white man came, but a far sadder day when the emigrant and settler came. Between these two epochs there was a long interval in which the paleface and his red brother lived in comparative harmony together. It was the era of the trader. Under the fur-trade régime the Indian might have continued his native mode of life indefi-

[1] By treaties dated July 4 and July 19.
[2] October 21.
[3] Chittenden's "History of Early Steamboat Navigation on the Missouri River."

nitely. The trader never sought to change it. He introduced but few innovations; had no desire to introduce any; and looked with as jealous an eye as the Indian himself upon the approach of civilization. . . .

"All this was changed when the emigrant came. The traders were few in number and made no permanent settlements. The emigrants came by the thousand and spread themselves all over the country. They made roads, discovered rich mines, laid out cities, and declared their purpose to send the 'fire horse' across the plains, as they had sent the 'fire canoe' up the great river. Before this ever-increasing host the game wasted away. It was estimated that in the single year 1853 four hundred thousand buffalo were slain. As the buffalo was the very life of the plains tribes, its extermination meant inevitable starvation or hopeless dependence upon the government.

"All this the Indian foresaw with unerring vision, and it affected him just as it would any other independent people. A state of unrest ensued. Depredations and outrages occurred—for the Indian understood no other way of expressing his displeasure—and the government was forced to interfere. The era of the fur trade came to an end, and that of the treaty, the agent, and the annuity began—an era whose history will bring the blush of shame to its readers to the latest generations. And yet it would be wholly unjust to charge the flagrant wrongs which followed to this or that particular cause. History will exonerate the government from any but the purest motives in its dealings with the Indians. It may have been unwise in some of its measures; it was certainly weak in carrying its purposes into effect; but it always sought, with the light it possessed, the highest good of the Indian. The problem, unfortunately, was beyond human wisdom to solve. The ablest minds of this country and century have grappled with it in vain. It was the problem of how to commit a great wrong without doing any wrong —how to deprive the Indian of his birthright in such a way that he should feel that no injustice had been done him. It was the decree of destiny that the European should displace the native American upon his own soil. No earthly power could prevent it. This was the wrong; all else was purely incidental; and whatever consideration or generosity might attend the details of the change, nothing could alter the stern and fundamental fact.[1]

"With this impossible problem our law-givers wrestled for a century in vain. They sought to deal with the Indian on a basis of political equality, where such equality did not and could not exist. The treaty system was the outgrowth of this attempt. Perhaps it was impossible to deal with the Indians except by treaty, but it is difficult at this day

[1] [Chittenden.] "What consideration will induce you to give up war and remain at peace?" is the hypothetical question of a certain Indian agent to a tribe of the Sioux in 1867. And the hypothetical answer, based upon his many talks with them, was this: "Stop the white man from traveling across our lands; give us the country which is ours by right of conquest and inheritance, to live in and enjoy unmolested by his encroachments, and we will be at peace with all the world."

to see the wisdom of that method. It only deferred the inevitable. It made promises which, in the nature of things, could not be kept.[1] Made to be broken, they served no other purpose than to lull the natives into temporary quiet while the paleface was fastening his grip ever more tightly upon their country. It was throughout a policy of insincerity; the fostering of a spirit of independent sovereignty when in fact the tribes were only vassals. Like all insincerity, it bred endless wrong. The loss of his lands would not have been so bad to him if he had understood it from the start; but as it was, he had not only to bear this loss, but the ever-increasing evidence of the white man's bad faith; and he thus came to hate the whites and distrust their government.[2]

"This, if we were to venture a criticism, has been the government's one great mistake in dealing with the Indians. A firm attitude of authority toward the tribes, with an unqualified claim to sovereignty of the soil, and an assertion of the right to reduce it and them to a condition of ultimate civilization, would have eliminated the element of bad faith which has always characterized the treaty system. But instead of this the government continued to foster to the last the notion of tribal sovereignty over the lands of the West. Under the farce of obtaining these lands by treaty it saved itself from the charge of wresting them by force from the Indian. It was a distinction without a difference, and in its effort to save its honor in one direction, it hopelessly sacrificed it in another."

In the passages here quoted their author spoke of the white government's promises and treaties as "made to be broken," saying that "they served no other purpose than to lull the natives into temporary quiet while the paleface was fastening his grip ever more tightly upon their country. It was throughout a policy of insincerity." He also wrote: "History will exonerate the government from

[1] [Chittenden.] Gruff old General Harney had his own views upon this treaty business. When Commissioner Cummings came down the river from the council with the Blackfeet, and, having lost his mules at Fort Pierre, besought the General to give him some others to complete his journey with, the General replied: "Yes, Colonel, I have plenty of mules, but you can't have one; and I only regret that when the Indians got your mules they didn't get your scalp also. Here all summer I and my men have suffered and boiled to chastise these wretches, while you have been patching up another of your sham treaties to be broken to-morrow and give us more work."

"It is beyond question that such a system of treaty-making is, of all others, the most unpolitic, whether negotiated with savage or civilized peoples, and . . . aside from its effect in encouraging and stimulating breaches of treaties of peace, is always attended with fraud upon the government and upon the Indian."—General John Pope, Report of August 3, 1864.

[2] [Chittenden.] "Send me one man who will tell the truth and I will talk with him," was the laconic reply of a celebrated chief who had been asked to meet a government commission in council.

any but the purest motives in its dealings with the Indians."

The subject is not one which so readily lends itself to the assumption of two contradictory attitudes concerning it. And it may also be said that though written history often possesses much power, nevertheless there are limits to the performances which should be asked of it.

CHAPTER LI

THE CAUCASIAN CONQUEST OF THE OREGON COUNTRY — FLOYD AND BAILES, THE SEERS OF 1820 — TRACY INVENTS THE IRRECLAIMABLE WESTERN DESERTS OF SAND — RACE ANTAGONISM APPEARS BEYOND THE MISSISSIPPI — WAGONS REACH THE ROCKY MOUNTAINS — INFLUENCES THAT DIRECTED PUBLIC ATTENTION TO THE NORTHWEST — WHITE WOMEN FIRST CROSS THE CONTINENT — BONNEVILLE AND WHITMAN TAKE WAGONS ACROSS THE ROCKIES — NEW ENGLAND'S PART — ORIGIN AND ORGANIZATION OF THE "GREAT MIGRATION" OF 1843 — A REVERSION TO THE EARLY CLAN METHOD OF OVERLAND TRAVEL — APPLEGATE'S STORY OF THE MARCH

THE first American settlement on the Pacific coast was in some degree an outcome of the Lewis and Clark expedition, and was made about five years after that event. It was a fur-trading camp of the New York merchant, John Jacob Astor, whose men paused at the mouth of the Columbia River in the present state of Oregon. The presence of the Astor party at that precise spot, and just at that juncture of time, had much to do with the later history of the Pacific coast and the Northwest. Great Britain had displayed some interest in the locality for a considerable period,[1] but no British representative or settlement happened to be in the neighbor-

[1] Lieut. Broughton, of the British Navy, had taken possession of the Columbia River valley in His Majesty's name, in 1792.

hood on the arrival of the Americans early in 1811.[1] In December of 1813, as part of the warfare then in progress between the United States and Great Britain, a British naval vessel entered the mouth of the Columbia and American influence for a time ceased to exist.

But as the treaty which marked the end of the war stipulated that each party thereto should occupy all positions held by it at the commencement of the struggle, and since Great Britain was compelled to admit that Americans had controlled the mouth of the river and adjacent coast at the outbreak of hostilities, she was constrained to restore the region to the United States in 1818. By a treaty framed in the same year, England and the United States agreed to a joint occupation of the mutually coveted territory during the following ten years, and the treaty also safeguarded whatever rights were possessed by Spain and Russia in that part of the continent. Spain sold her rights in the Oregon region to the United States at the same time she transferred Florida to the American flag in 1819, and Russia took like action in 1824. The later international controversy over the northwestern country, therefore, which came to be known as the "Oregon Question," was confined to England and America.

In spite of the exploit of Lewis and Clark, no noticeable interest in the far Northwest was displayed either by the public or by Congress until 1820. In that year a Virginia Congressman named John Floyd brought up the subject of future American settlements on the coast of the Pacific Ocean and the control of the Columbia River. Floyd was a seer. It has been said of him:[2]

"He evidently believed it would not be long before Americans would reach the Rockies, and stand ready to descend into the Oregon country.

[1] They reached the spot by a voyage around Cape Horn.
[2] Schafer's "History of the Pacific Northwest," pp. 130-1.

This was a new thought, just beginning to take hold of the American people, and as yet quite startling to most men who, in spite of what had already been done, found it difficult to conceive of the American population actually expanding till it should reach the Pacific. But he only hinted at these things, knowing very well that most members of Congress would regard predictions of this kind as the merest folly. . . . He tried to show that the Missouri and Columbia together would form a good highway for commerce across the continent, and that the entire distance between St. Louis and Astoria could be traversed with steamboat and wagon in the space of forty-four days."

Floyd's bill of 1821, providing a system by which settlers might take up land in the Oregon country, received no consideration. A similar measure introduced by him during the next year brought about the first Congressional debate on the subject. His principal ally in the national legislature was Mr. Bailes, of Massachusetts, who said:

"Some now within these walls. . . . in after times may cherish delightful recollections of this day, when America, almost shrinking from the 'shadows of coming events,' first placed her feet upon untrodden ground, scarcely daring to anticipate the greatness which awaited her."

Among the prominent opponents of the Floyd bill was Mr. Tracy of New York, who dismissed as fantastic the idea that a beneficial overland communication between the Mississippi valley and the Pacific coast was possible. He asserted that

"Nature has fixed limits for our nation; she has kindly interposed as our western barrier mountains almost inaccessible, whose base she has skirted with irreclaimable deserts of sand."[1]

[1] Tracy's reference to the "irreclaimable deserts of sand" extending eastward from the Rocky Mountains was doubtless one of the first public utterances embodying a long-accepted belief that the region now occupied by Oklahoma, Kansas, Nebraska, the Dakotas, western Texas and nearly all the rest of the country eastward of the Rocky Mountains for a distance of several hundred miles was an arid and useless part of the earth, uninhabitable by white men. This part of the country eventually appeared on the maps of school geographies as the "Great American Desert." The extensive territory to which that mistaken name was first given gradually shrunk in size on the maps, but obstinately refused to entirely disappear until after the year 1870. A large part of the "deserts of sand" is now included in one of the principal natural granaries of the world.

349.—The town of Independence, in western Missouri. Most important "jump-off" for overland travellers on the Santa Fé, Oregon and California trails.

Mr. Tracy's opinions carried the day, and Floyd's bill was defeated by a vote of one hundred to sixty-one.

The town of St. Louis, by virtue of its geographical position, was in closer touch with the Missouri valley and the Oregon country than any other community, and in 1822 General William H. Ashley, of that city, organized a fur-trading company and an expedition designed to penetrate to the head waters of the Missouri. About ninety men in the Ashley party set forth early in 1823, but had trouble with the Indians—who objected to the destruction of their game—and in June nearly one-third of the white men were killed by the natives near the mouth of the Yellowstone River.[1]

When news of the affrays got back to civilization, some three months afterward, a force of United States troops was despatched to take the sort of action which later became known as "punishing the Indians." The unexpected outbreak, in the far West, of race antagonisms similar to those that had periodically characterized the history of the East for two centuries attracted wide attention and newspaper comment. A considerable proportion of the pioneer people of the Mississippi valley still retained and exhibited hostility to Indians as a matter of principle, and could not understand that the red races of those distant countries to the westward might possibly have valid reasons for their objection to the appearance and activity of white men among them. But some newspapers of the interior valley displayed a different attitude, and even went so far as to say that the red men might have justification for their opposition to the latest symptoms of

[1] Two other similar expeditions had like troubles in the same locality at almost the same time. They were Major Henry's expedition, and a party sent out by the Missouri Fur Company under the leadership of two of its men named Jones and Immels. The Missouri Fur Company had been organized in 1808, as a result of the knowledge brought back by Lewis and Clark.

350.—Kansas City as it appeared at the outset of the California rush. The settlement was one of the "jumping-off places." A "jump-off" was the last spot, on the route of a prairie schooner, where it might be replenished for the long journey ahead.

a further Caucasian advance. When word came of the three race encounters which had taken place in the upper Missouri valley in 1823, a western paper of the last described type made the following comment on the troubles and their possible causes:[1]

"Perhaps we do not exactly understand the conditions of the Indians, but it appears to us that the land yet unceded must be regarded as their own, and if so, we should suppose that a party of white persons cannot have any more right to enter upon it for the purpose of catching and killing the wild beasts of the forest than the Indians would have to enter our settlements and carry off whatever they pleased. The deer, buffalo and beaver are as needful to the subsistence and comfort of the Indians as horses, cattle and swine are to us; and it would appear that they may as lawfully prevent the destruction of their means of living as we ourselves can rightfully do."

Ashley abandoned his scheme in 1826, and one of the men to whom he sold his fur business was Jedediah S. Smith. Smith succeeded in making an overland trip from the Rocky Mountains to California immediately afterward, reaching the Mexican town of San Diego in October. Two years thereafter he successfully undertook another extensive overland journey from California northward to the Columbia River, but all except himself and three companions were killed by natives. His march from the Rocky Mountains to California was the first attempted or accomplished by a white American, and his later journey from California to the Oregon country was likewise the first overland trip between those two regions. He returned in safety to the United States in 1829, and in 1830 continued his exploits by organizing[2] the first train of loaded wagons from Missouri to the Rockies. The path of this vehicular trip lay along the courses of the Missouri, Platte and Sweetwater Rivers. Smith's wagons

[1] "Farmers and Mechanics Journal," of Vincennes, Indiana, Sept. 11, 1823.
[2] In conjunction with Sublette and Jackson, his partners in the purchase of Ashley's company.

could, indeed, have crossed the mountains by a route now known as the South Pass.[1]

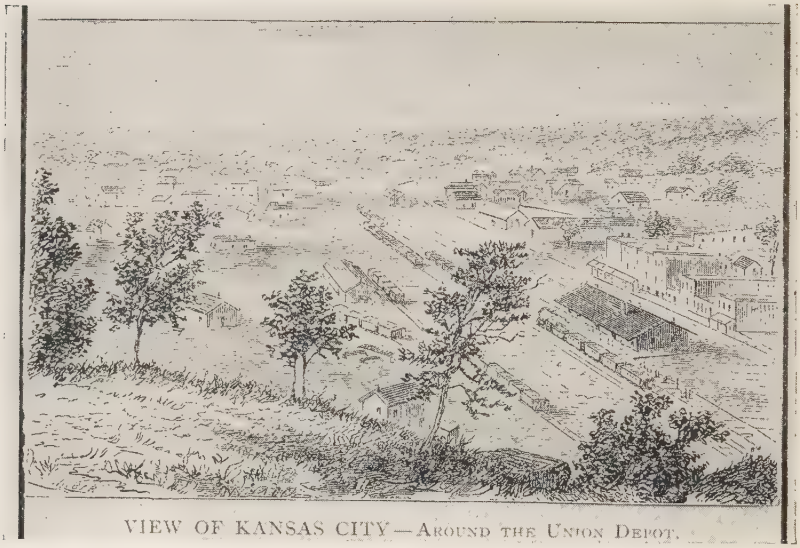
The three principal factors which had so far been influential in directing some measure of public attention to the Oregon country had been growth of traffic and the recent introduction of steamboats on the Missouri River, the activities of fur traders, and the Congressional debate started by Floyd. Three other influences were now to appear and lend their aid in still further centering popular thought on the same matter.

The acute stage reached by the race conflict both in the South and North during the years immediately following 1830; the social advancement manifested by several of the southern native nations while still east of the Mississippi; the defiance of the Federal government by Georgia in the case of the Cherokees; and several other allied phases of the same broad subject, all tended to inspire curiosity or concern regarding those red men who had always lived west of the Mississippi, as well as solicitude for the native nations who were migrating thither. This speculation relative to the Indian tribes of the far West was still further augmented by an incident happening at the same time, which closely touched the affairs of those distant peoples. In 1831 or 1832,[2] one of the red tribes[3] living in the eastward portion of the Oregon country sent a delegation consisting of four of its prominent men to St. Louis in order to ask, as they phrased it, for "the white man's book of heaven." While in the town they were entertained by

[1] Schafer (pp. 141-2) credits the discovery of South Pass to the Ashley party. He says: "The discovery of this natural highway, so important in the history of the entire Pacific coast, must be credited to Ashley's trappers, some of whom first made use of it in 1823." Possibly the conclusion here quoted is open to discussion, since Melish's 50-sheet map of 1820 shows a pass, together with a travel-line through it, at long. 111° west from Greenwich, lat. 43° 50′ north, and the route so delineated is inscribed "Southern Pass." If Melish, in 1820, was seeking to define the near-by South Pass, then its discovery and first use must have antedated the Ashley expedition by several years.

[2] Schafer's "History of the Pacific Northwest," p. 147, says the date is in doubt.

[3] The Nez Percés.



351.—Kansas City in later years, after it had been reached by the railways.

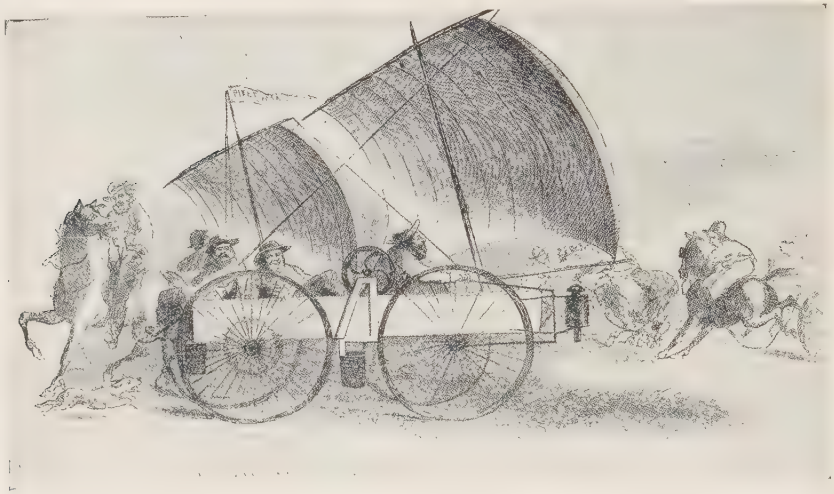
General Clark, who, with Lewis, had visited their country a quarter of a century before. Two of the Indians died in St. Louis and still another on the long return expedition, so that of the four who had started out on a quest of nearly four thousand miles in the hope of improving the affairs of their people, only one reached his home again.

The facts attending this unusual plea slowly gained wide publicity. It may safely be presumed that the Nez Percés, in asking for the white man's book of heaven, made reference in a general way to a desire for those uplifting influences and better conditions—material as well as moral—which had attended the work of unselfish missionaries among the red race, and which had produced a noticeably beneficial effect on the principal Indian nations of the South. Of such things the Nez Percés must have heard encouraging reports, else they would not have taken

the action they did take. Assuredly they did not send a delegation to the remote Caucasian country in search of disease, liquor, the vices of white society, avarice and the sword. This was the first occasion on which natives who lived near the Pacific coast had so signally expressed a desire for association with white men of any sort, or for more extensive acquaintance with white practises.

Up to the time mentioned such knowledge of the western native races as was possessed by the white people east of the Mississippi was scanty in amount, and had been obtained mainly from two sources of radically different character. One of those two sources lay in the casual impressions gathered by such explorers as Lewis, Clark, Pike and Long, who had travelled extensively through the western part of the continent, but whose knowledge of and acquaintance with the Indians of any given locality necessarily had been restricted to such observations as they might make in a few days, weeks or months. Impressions so obtained could scarcely be depended on with safety in any desire to penetrate deeply into the fundamentals of native character. Red men were slow to reveal themselves unreservedly to strangers. To one who came among them unaccompanied by any suspicion of ulterior motives their influential men showed a dignified courtesy and hospitality, but beyond that they did not go until a later time. But to such white men as had dwelt long among them in proved friendliness they exposed their thoughts and inward lives without hesitation. In the nature of things, few testimonies of the latter sort were available to the mass of the white people of the United States. One of them has heretofore been cited,[1] and others were later

[1] Reference is here made to the description of Sioux character and society which was published in the "Indiana Centinel" of May 20, 1819, and which is reproduced in Chapter XXVIII.



352.—On some stretches of the prairies, and in certain seasons of the year, light wagons were rigged to be driven by the wind. The device was of very limited use, however, and could not be adopted when loads had to be moved.

to be offered by men who had possessed somewhat similar opportunity for matured verdicts.[1] There was apparent contradiction between a few available early statements affirming the good qualities of the western Indians and those more recent reports which showed that the distant tribes were sometimes hostile to white visitors.

All these tales—whether favorable or unfavorable to the red men of the West—stimulated an interest in them, and, about the year 1833, led up to a period of missionary and educational activity which had the welfare of the natives of the far West as its incentive. One result of the conditions described was the departure of a little group of missionaries for the Oregon country and the establishment by them, in 1834, of an American colony and mission on the Willamette River. During the following year a missionary named Samuel Parker, accompanied by

[1] Two other statements regarding the character of the western Indians before they had been brought into close contact with white society have also been quoted in Chapter XXVIII.

a young physician named Marcus Whitman, set forth from the town of Liberty in western Missouri, and travelled overland to the Columbia River, in whose vicinity he spent some time. On his return home, in 1837, he published the results of his observation in a book[1] which still further directed public attention to the country described and of which several editions were sold during the next few years.

Whitman in the meantime had come back to the Atlantic coast more than a year in advance of Parker, and in 1836 he started from Liberty again with four more missionaries and teachers, two of whom were women.[2] The party travelled by pack-train, in company with some traders, but Whitman also took with him a wagon which he succeeded in piloting to a point beyond any hitherto reached by an overland wheeled vehicle. He drove the wagon to Fort Boise on Lewis River, a spot on the western border of the present state of Idaho, several hundred miles beyond the last trace of any previously travelled road then existing.

Whitman's second trip was also of interest in another particular relating to the annals of American travel. The two women in his party, who rode in the wagon most of the way, were the first English speaking white women to cross the North American continent.

By the year 1837 American missionary settlements were in existence on the Willamette, the Walla Walla and the Clearwater Rivers of the Oregon country, separated from one another in some instances by hundreds of miles, and located within the limits of the present states of Oregon, Washington and Idaho. The missionary

[1] "An Exploring Tour Beyond the Rocky Mountains."
[2] One being his wife. The other was the wife of H. H. Spalding, another member of the party.

settlement on the Clearwater River was in the country of the Nez Percés at a spot called by them Waiilatpu.[1]

The second circumstance of this period tending to stimulate eastern interest in the Pacific coast and the Columbia River country had its origin in President Jackson's ambition to buy a part of California in order that the United States might get possession of San Francisco Bay, whose value had been reported by American naval vessels.[2] In 1835 Jackson sent a governmental agent, W. A. Slacum, to the West, under instructions to visit all English speaking settlements in the neighborhood of the Columbia River, to make a census of all races, and to discover the opinions of those distant settlers on the subject of United States rights in the Oregon country. This was the first visit of a United States governmental official to Oregon. Slacum's report was laid before Congress late in 1837. It revived legislative interest in the matters under consideration, and that interest did not thereafter lapse until the United States had finally secured ownership of the great western river and the near-by extensive bay known as Puget Sound. Slacum was especially insistent that the United States should not accept the Columbia River as its northern boundary in the region inspected, in compliance with the desire of Great Britain since the signing of the joint treaty of occupation nearly twenty years before.

The third of the three influences at that time tending to direct public attention to the out-of-the-way wilderness of the Northwest was the organization in New England, in 1838, of a body called the "Oregon Provisional Emigra-

[1] It was at Waiilatpu that Whitman, his wife and twelve other whites were massacred in 1847 by the Cayuse.

[2] The relations existing between Texas and Mexico also contributed to the desirability of gaining as much knowledge as possible regarding conditions along the Pacific coast.

353.—A fire sweeping across the prairie. The white men were often careless about extinguishing their camp-fires, and wide stretches of country were sometimes burned over as a result. Every event of that sort reduced the supply of growing fodder on which the live stock of the caravans was compelled to subsist, and many horses, mules and cattle succumbed in consequence. By Henry Lewis.

tion Society." The purpose of the association was to assemble a party of several hundred American families and move them overland to the Oregon country, where, in addition to creating a typical American white community they might also give to the Indians an education both secular and religious in character, and otherwise so train them as to make them fitted—in Caucasian estimation—for citizenship in a politically organized community. It sent representatives through Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan and Missouri to come into contact with the

people and secure enlistments for such a party as it desired to bring together. The society failed to attain a concrete realization of its plan, but out of its work there nevertheless grew certain later results.

The seed sown by the New England society in the states of the Mississippi valley was slowly germinating. By the year 1840 the prospects offered by the Oregon country as a desirable location for American activities was a common subject of village argument throughout the middle states. Various accounts of the fertility of the soil and other advantages of the far Northwest were arriving and percolating through the population. Here and there a town meeting was held to discuss the Oregon Question and the relation of the United States to it. Petitions were addressed to the government recommending that diplomatic or legislative action be taken to definitely establish the rights of the United States in the territory considered. There was, it is well to say, nothing in any degree approaching the universal excitement and mania which developed a few years afterward in connection with another phase of affairs on the Pacific coast, but enough individuals were gradually brought to such a point of interest that by 1842 it became obvious that a movement of some considerable dimensions toward Oregon was about to take place.

The visible ingredients which had helped to create this state of mind have been outlined. But there was yet another, and not less important one. It was the stirring of that self-same, deep pioneer instinct which for more than two hundred years had ever filled its possessors with a vague restlessness and an uncontrollable desire to move into other and newer localities. This time the instinct in question — fanned into the flame of action by the means

354.—Method of taking a prairie schooner over a western river too deep to be forded. The ferry boats were occasionally owned by men who had seen the sure profits of the ferry business, and had halted to engage in it. Two dollars was a standard fee for wagon ferriage. At seasons of high water hundreds of vehicles were frequently assembled along the shore of a stream, awaiting the transfer.

here narrated — resulted in what is known as the "Great Oregon Migration."

During the winter of 1842-3 a bill was pending before Congress whose terms provided for the establishment of territorial government in the Oregon country, and for the granting of land to settlers there. The measure was adopted by the Senate in February, and that action was perhaps the final or immediate influence which led to the overland journey about to be described.[1] The "Great Migration" to Oregon in the spring of 1843, as eventually constituted, was made up of various small parties of men, women and children whose homes at that time were in Iowa, Missouri, Illinois, Indiana, Ohio, Kentucky and Tennessee. The exodus resembled those numerous and extensive migrations which took place in the Atlantic

[1] The proposed law was afterward rejected by the lower house of Congress.

coast colonies during the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, while the white population movement still extended in a north-and-south direction. It was, in fact, a comparatively modern return to the most primitive of all methods of American travel, and once again displayed that periodic recourse to former processes which had marked the whole story of national advance. It was another example of the chronological overlapping of travel periods. When the "Great Migration" of 1843 was organized there was an unbroken stretch of country from the Mississippi valley eastward to the Atlantic which was equipped with stage-coaches, canals and railroads. But none of those more modern agencies could be called into use for the journey about to be taken, and so the people who had determined to set forth into the West were compelled to do as their forefathers had done during the migrations from New England, New York and Pennsylvania down into the Virginias and the Carolinas.

The organization of each local group which finally became a component part of the migration was substantially similar to that of the others, and it is only needful to outline the incidents attending the formation of one or two parties. Iowa was a territory especially interested in the project, and for that reason the preparations made by some citizens of Iowa City and Bloomington are selected for description here. Those people of Iowa City who had decided to perform the journey assembled early in March, organized a company called the Oregon Migration Association, elected officers and adopted the following rules and regulations:

"It shall be the duty of the trustees to inquire into the character of all applicants who wish to join the company, and reject all intem-

perate and immoral characters. They shall also open books to receive subscriptions of stock, consisting of shares of fifty dollars each, to be paid in cash, materials or labor, as will best suit the subscribers, for the purpose of building a grist and saw mill for the company, also a schooner or sloop, if funds sufficient can be raised.

"That as soon as the company shall number twenty male members between the ages of eighteen and forty-five, they shall hold an election and elect one captain and five subordinate officers, whose duty it shall be to drill and command the company. After the above officers are elected the company shall meet once a month for the purpose of drilling said company.

"That before the company commences their march they shall elect a council of twelve persons who shall assemble in council with the officers of the company, who shall deliberate on and decide all matters pertaining to the company during their march.

"That there shall be hunting parties chosen who shall hunt for the company alternately while on their march.

"That each family and single person shall furnish a sufficient quantity of provisions and means of conveyance for those while on their march.

"That the male members of the company between the ages of eighteen and forty-five shall be disciplined, armed and equipt to act on the defensive if necessary."[1]

The members of the party met a few days afterward and established a system of government through four trustees and twelve councilmen to be elected by the male members of the society. The trustees and council were given power to impeach, try and remove the president or any other civil officer, and to "hear, try and determine all complaints against any member of the society for dishonest, immoral or improper conduct, and to dismiss any member from the Society who shall wilfully disobey or violate" any provisions of the by-laws. The executive authority of the intending marchers was vested in a president and two vice-presidents. The military authority was given into the hands of a captain, who had five subordinate officers. Every able-bodied male member of the band, while travelling, was made liable to discipline

[1] "Iowa Capital Reporter," Iowa City, March 11, 1843.

and military duty, excepting only the civil officers while actually on a march. But the civil authorities were also to be armed in order that they might protect the baggage train and the non-fighting membership in case of necessity. Every male member of the organization above the age of seventeen was given a vote.[1]

Another group of Iowa emigrants met at Bloomington on March 19 and adopted these resolutions:

"That the company here forming start from this place on the 10th day of May next, on their Journey to Oregon.

"That the route taken by the company shall be from here to Iowa City, from thence to Council Bluffs, and from thence to the most suitable point on the road from Independence to Oregon, from thence by way of the Independence road to Oregon.

"That the company leave or pass through Iowa City on the 12th day of May next, and invite other companies to join.

"That each and every individual as an outfit provide himself with 100 lbs. flour, 30 lbs. bacon, 1 peck salt, 3 lbs. powder in horns or canteens, 12 lbs. lead or shot, and one good tent cloth to cover six persons. Every man well armed and equipped with gun, tomahawk, knife, etc."[2]

All members intending to move by wagon were advised to use oxen or mules, rather than horses, and each unmarried man was urged to provide himself with a mule or pony.

During these days of preparation the newspapers also contained numerous communications giving advice to the travellers who were about to undertake the crossing of the continent. One such letter read:

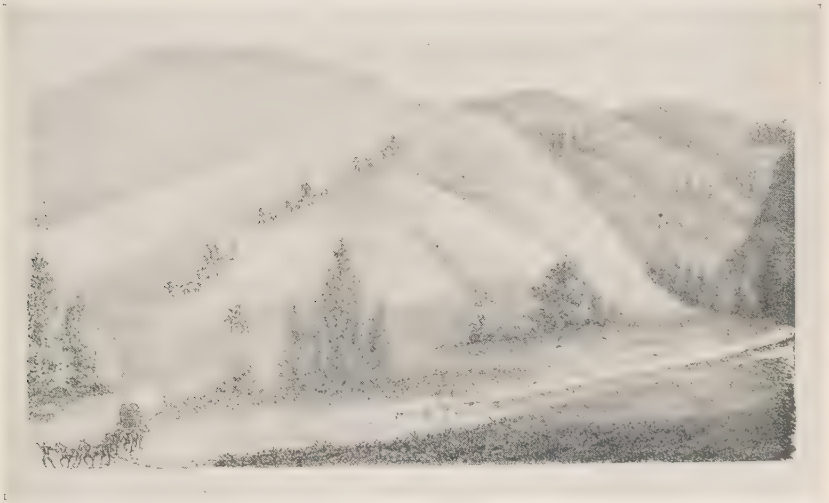
"I have made every inquiry of those who have visited that region of country, and have read all, perhaps, that has been written of the character of the country, and have come to the conclusion that the distance from Burlington to the Council Bluffs is 350 miles—from the Bluffs west, on the north side of Big Platt River, by way of the Pawnee villages, to the foot of the Rocky Mountains at the old pass, where Captain Bonneville passed with his loaded wagons, is 500 miles—and no

[1] "Iowa Capital Reporter," Iowa City, March 23, 1843.
[2] "Iowa Standard," Iowa City, March 30, 1843.

stream to cross except the Loupe fork of Platt. The pass to which I allude is in about latitude 41° 30′ north. From thence take a west course, or nearly so, to the Wallamet River. The distance is about 500 miles, making in all about 1300 or 1400 miles travel. . . .

"My plan for outfit, etc., is as follows:—With oxen and mules you will travel with a caravan of say 100 persons, 15 miles per day, which, if you lose no time, you will accomplish the journey in 100 days, but make reasonable allowance for accident and delay, and say 150 days.

"100 men should be armed and equipped with a good rifle gun of large bore, carrying not less than 60 bullets to the pound;—4 pounds



355.—A wagon train on the march. It rolled over the hills for week after week, at an average rate of twelve or fifteen miles a day.

of powder, 12 of lead—(flint locks are to be preferred); caps and flints in proportion—and good knife and a small tomahawk. . . Percussion guns should have with them a spare tube in case of accident of one bursting; also canteens.

"As to provisions necessary for the journey, say 150 pounds of side bacon, 1 barrel of flour, a half bushel of beans, 10 pounds of rice, 20 pounds of coffee, 20 pounds of sugar, one year's stock of coarse and durable cloth, 2 blankets, and to every five men a tent. . . To every five men there should be a wagon and team sufficient to transport two thousand pounds, hauled by three or four yoke of oxen; they should be shod and spare shoes and nails taken along, and a water keg to contain

at least ten gallons to each wagon. . . also in addition, each man ought to have a good poney or a mule to ride, (if he is able,) and that should be well equipped for packing and riding, a Spanish saddle and a picket line to tie your horse when feeding. . .

"It will be necessary in such a company that they should be completely organized like a company of regular soldiers; and I would advise that they agree (after choosing their officers) that they, while on their march thither, shall subject themselves to be governed by the rules and articles of war of the United States, so far as they shall apply to that service. I would recommend that to 100 men they elect one Captain, who should carry a spy glass, four Sergeants and four Corporals—and there ought to be a bugle to give the signals, and if one cannot be had, there should be a drum and fife. Guides and buffalo hunters will be required who will have to be paid a reasonable sum, as it will not do for every one to go hunting and shooting at pleasure. . . .

"Companies ought not to be less than fifty efficient fighting men, but 100 would be better; there are some Indians who are rather hostile, and they might attack a small party for plunder.

"One who intends to emigrate."[1]

All this discussion, organization, equipment, drilling, advice and preparation was in connection with a project to travel from the Mississippi valley to the Pacific coast at a period embraced within the lifetime of hundreds of thousands of Americans who are still living, and within the memory of many of them.

The existence of Boone's Lick Road, and its previous prominence for some twenty years as the main overland highway leading to the most advanced white settlements, naturally resulted in its use by the Oregon emigrants during the spring of 1843. Over it, for two months, straggled numerous bands of horsemen and many wagon trains, all moving toward the little town of Independence on the western border of Missouri. By the middle of May nearly a thousand people had gathered at the spot, and they then met in a body to perfect a general organization. Besides the thousand people the company also contained a hundred and twenty wagons of all sorts, and about five

[1] "Iowa Capital Reporter," March 25, 1843.

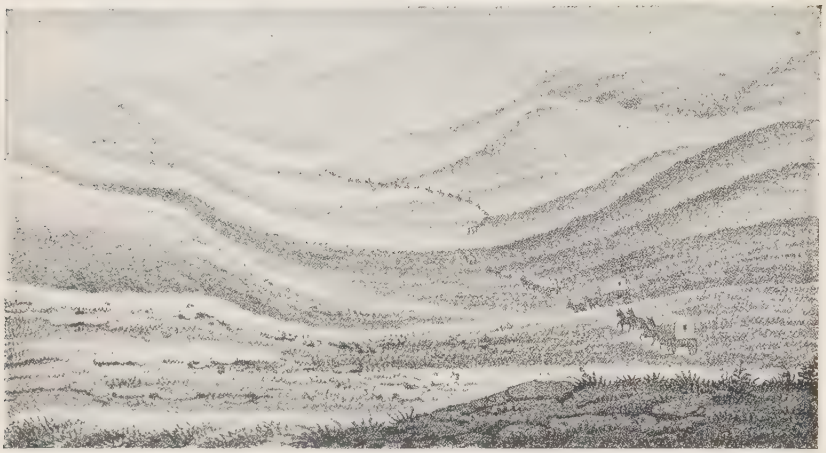
thousand cattle, horses and other varieties of live stock. The pilgrims were divided for marching purposes into two groups. Each contained sixty wagons, and the foremost was composed of those whose owners were unencumbered with slow moving cattle. The second section, in addition to containing an equal number of wagons, also included the farm animals. Each division was under the command of a captain and his assistants, and in the form here outlined the "Great Migration" set forth on May 22, to traverse the two thousand miles which lay between it and its destination.

It so happened that the captain of the second division was a man named Jesse Applegate, destined thereafter to become a prominent figure of the far country to which he was leading so many of his countrymen. And in addition to his other qualities Applegate possessed—fortunately for our present desire—ability to describe the events in which he took part. He afterward wrote this description of the daily methods employed by the members of his camp during the overland trip:[1]

"It is four o'clock A. M.; the sentinels on duty have discharged their rifles—the signal that the hours of sleep are over—and every wagon and tent is pouring forth its night tenants, and slow kindling smokes begin largely to rise and float away in the morning air. Sixty men start from the corral, spreading as they make through the vast herd of cattle and horses that make a semicircle around the encampment, the most distant perhaps two miles away.

"The herders pass the extreme verge and carefully examine for trails beyond, to see that none of the animals have strayed or been stolen during the night. This morning no trails lead beyond the outside animals in sight, and by five o'clock the herders begin to contract the great moving circle, and the well-trained animals move slowly towards camp, clipping here and there a thistle or a tempting bunch of grass on the way. In about an hour five thousand animals are close up to the encampment, and the teamsters are busy selecting their teams and driving them inside

[1] In 1876, when he gave an account of the migration before the Oregon Pioneer Association. Applegate's narrative was printed by the Oregon Historical Society in its "Quarterly" of December, 1900.



356.—Month after month the wagons crawled through the lonely valleys.

the corral to be yoked. The corral is a circle one hundred yards deep, formed with wagons connected strongly with each other; the wagon in the rear being connected with the wagon in front by its tongue and ox chains. It is a strong barrier that the most vicious ox cannot break, and in case of attack from the Sioux would be no contemptible intrenchment.

"From six to seven o'clock is a busy time; breakfast is to be eaten, the tents struck, the wagons loaded and the teams yoked and brought up in readiness to be attached to their respective wagons. All know when, at seven o'clock, the signal to march sounds, that those not ready to take their places in the line of march must fall into the dusty rear for the day. There are sixty wagons. They have been divided into fifteen divisions or platoons of four wagons each, and each platoon is entitled to lead in its turn. The leading platoon to-day will be the rear one to-morrow, and will bring up the rear unless some teamster through indolence or negligence has lost his place in the line, and is condemned to that uncomfortable post. It is within ten minutes of seven; the corral but now a strong barricade is everywhere broken, the teams being attached to the wagons. The women and children have taken their places in them. The pilot (a borderer who has passed his life on the verge of civilization and has been chosen to his post of leader from his knowledge of the savage and his experience in travel through roadless wastes) stands ready, in the midst of his pioneers and aids, to mount and lead the way. Ten or fifteen young men, not to-day on duty, form another cluster. They are ready to start on a buffalo hunt, are well mounted and well armed, as they need to be, for the unfriendly

Sioux have driven the buffalo out of the Platte,[1] and the hunters must ride fifteen or twenty miles to find them. The cow drivers are hastening, as they get ready, to the rear of their charge, to collect and prepare them for the day's march.

"It is on the stroke of seven; the rush to and fro, the cracking of whips, the loud command to oxen, and what seemed to be the inextricable confusion of the last ten minutes has ceased. Fortunately every one has been found and every teamster is at his post. The clear notes of a trumpet sound in the front; the pilot and his guards mount their horses; the leading divisions of the wagons move out of the encampment, and take up the line of march; the rest fall into their places with the precision of clockwork, until the spot so lately full of life sinks back into that solitude that seems to reign over the broad plain and rushing river as the caravan draws its lazy length towards the distant El Dorado. . . .

"The pilot, by measuring the ground and timing the speed of the horses, has determined the rate of each, so as to enable him to select the nooning place as nearly as the requisite grass and water can be had at the end of five hours' travel of the wagons. To-day, the ground being favorable, little time has been lost in preparing the road, so that he and his pioneers are at the nooning place an hour in advance of the wagons, which time is spent in preparing convenient watering places for the animals, and digging little wells near the bank of the Platte. As the teams are not unyoked, but simply turned loose from the wagons, a corral is not formed at noon, but the wagons are drawn up in columns, four abreast, the leading wagon of each platoon on the left, the platoons being formed with that in view. This brings friends together at noon as well as at night.

"To-day an extra session of the council is being held, to settle a dispute that does not admit of delay, between a proprietor and a young man who has undertaken to do a man's service on the journey for bed and board. Many such cases exist, and much interest is taken in the manner in which this high court, from which there is no appeal, will define the rights of each party in such engagements. The council was a high court in the most exalted sense. It was a senate composed of the ablest and most respected fathers of the emigration. It exercised both legislative and judicial powers, and its laws and decisions proved equal, and worthy of the high trust reposed in it. . . .

"It is now one o'clock, the bugle has sounded and the caravan has resumed its westward journey. It is in the same order, but the evening is far less animated than the morning march. A drowsiness has

[1] This widely adopted effort of the western Indians toward the conservation of their natural resources, under such circumstances, was considered by the whites as an unfriendly act. It was. The native western Indians, just like white men, naturally tried to make the penetration of their home by an invading force as difficult as possible, instead of making it easier by supplying food to the invaders. But the white men did not appreciate the philosophy of such an effort when it was applied in opposition to themselves.

fallen apparently on man and beast; teamsters drop asleep on their perches, and even when walking by their teams; and the words of command are now addressed to the slowly creeping oxen in the soft tenor of women or the piping treble of children, while the snores of the teamsters make a droning accompaniment. . . .

"The sun is now getting low in the west, and at length the painstaking pilot is standing ready to conduct the train in the circle which he has previously measured and marked out, which is to form the invariable fortification for the night. The leading wagons follow him so nearly around the circle that but a wagon length separates them. Each wagon follows in its track, the rear closing on the front, until its tongue and ox chains will perfectly reach from one to the other; and so accurate the measure and perfect the practice, that the hindmost wagon of the train always precisely closes the gateway. As each wagon is brought into position it is dropped from its team (the teams being inside the circle), the team is unyoked, and the yoke and chains are used to connect the wagon strongly with that in its front. Within ten minutes from the time the leading wagon halted, the barricade is formed, the teams unyoked and driven out to pasture. Every one is busy preparing fires. . . . to cook the evening meal, pitching tents and otherwise preparing for the night."

The marching company of 1843 was the first considerable body of organized travellers who crossed the American continent in an overland trip with the purpose of establishing homes on the Pacific coast, and the route it followed—that of the South Pass —was ever afterward to be an important factor in the development of the West. Discussion has long prevailed with regard to the discovery of the way through the mountains, with regard to certain incidents connected with the migration of 1843, and about the part played by one of its members[1] in the early history and political destiny of the Oregon country. Controversy concerning the last mentioned side of the subject has recently been brought to a definite end, but it is desirable that some attention be given to those matters associated with the pathway of the first overland pilgrims, their experiences, and the effect of their memorable journey.

[1] Marcus Whitman.

CHAPTER LII

THE SOUTH PASS ROUTE TO THE FAR WEST — A TRAPPER WHO WAS ALSO A STATESMAN — EARLY RECORDS AND HISTORY OF THE PASS—WHITMAN JOINS THE MIGRATION OF 1843 — COMMENT OF AMERICA AND ENGLAND ON THE OVERLAND MOVEMENT — ITS IMPOSSIBILITY DEMONSTRATED IN PRINT WHILE IT IS BEING PERFORMED — THE OREGON SETTLERS FORM A GOVERNMENT — WHITMAN AND HIS COMPANIONS KILLED — THE RESULT — DISCOVERY OF JOHNSON AND WINTER'S LOST BOOK — THEIR ACCOUNT OF THE BLOOD COUNCIL AT WAIILATPU — THE TWO TRAVELLERS DESCRIBE THE RACE CONSEQUENCES OF WHITE MOVEMENT INTO THE NORTHWEST AND RECORD THEIR VISION OF THE FUTURE

THE path followed by the "Great Migration" of 1843 was afterward generally known as the Oregon trail.[1] It extended along the banks of the Platte and its northern branch—which had been surveyed during the preceding year by Lieutenant Frémont—went through the South Pass, and thence followed the valleys of Green River and Bear River to Fort Hall,[2] on Lewis River. From that point the overland travellers continued in smaller parties to the valley of the Willamette, which they reached in October, after a journey of more than two

[1] Until the extensive movement to California began in 1849. It was then, and thereafter, followed to the neighborhood of the Great Salt Lake by hundreds of thousands of gold hunters, and came to be popularly called the California trail.

[2] Then an important station of the Hudson's Bay Company.

357.—A wagon train in the Black Hills, Wyoming Territory. From a photograph taken by Lieutenant-Colonel Richard Dodge, U. S. A.

thousand miles accomplished in a period of some five months. In spite of the difficulties and privations necessarily attending such a movement, only seven members of the migration succumbed to accident or sickness on the way.

It will be borne in mind that Ashley's Fur Company had trouble with the Indians in 1823, but that its operations were carried on by others after his return, and that one or more of his employees had used the South Pass in 1823. General Jackson had begun to gather information in relation to the far West as soon as he entered the Presidency, and one of the sources to which his administration turned in seeking reliable knowledge regarding the subject was the fur company originally organized by Ashley, and at that time being carried on by Jedediah Smith, David Jackson and William Sublette.

From those men and some of their trappers the Federal government received, during 1830 and the early days of 1831, various letters descriptive of the Rocky Mountain region. This informatory material was submitted to Congress by President Jackson on June 24, 1831, accompanied by a brief message.[1]

One of the communications then sent by Jackson to Congress contained mention of the mountain gap now known as South Pass, and of its practicability as a route from the eastern to the western side of the mountains. The letter was undated, but its use by President Jackson on a known date removes any material loss in that regard. It was written by Joshua Pilcher, one of the employees of the fur company, and in discussing the mountains as a possible obstacle to overland movement Pilcher pointed out that

"Most erroneous ideas prevail upon this head. The Rocky Mountains are deemed by many to be impassable, and to present a barrier which will arrest the westward march of the American population. A man must know but little of the American people who supposes they can be stopped by anything in the shape of mountains, deserts, seas or rivers, and he can know nothing at all of the mountains in question to suppose that they are impassable. . . . Wagons and carriages may cross them in a state of nature without difficulty and with little delay on the day's journey. Some parts are very high, but the gradual rise of the country in the vast slope from the Mississippi to the foot of the mountains makes a considerable elevation without perceptible increase, and then the gaps or depressions let you through almost upon a level. This is particularly the case opposite the head of the Platte where I crossed in 1827. . . . It is, in fact, one of the best passes, and presents the best overland route from the valley of the Mississippi to the mouth of the Columbia."

Another of the letters from the fur company was written at St. Louis on October 29, 1830, and was addressed to Secretary of War Eaton. It said that the company, in the spring and summer of 1830, had taken ten

[1] "Sen. Ex. Doc. 39, 21st Cong. 2d Sess."

five-mule wagons and two other smaller wagons from St. Louis to the mountains, along the course of the Platte River. It further stated:

"Here the wagons could easily have crossed the mountains, it being what is called the Southern Pass,[1] had it been desirable for them to do so."

On this trip the wagons moved at a rate of fifteen to twenty miles a day, and reached St. Louis again in October, having been gone six months.

These definite statements about South Pass having been made, their reliability was soon put to the test. During the year 1832 Captain Bonneville—who had obtained leave of absence from the army to carry on a fur enterprise—penetrated to the locality with a train of twenty loaded wagons which he successfully took through South Pass to the valley of the Green River on its western side.

Three years afterward, in 1835, the missionary Samuel Parker passed through the same district, and in his later printed account of his travels he went even beyond Pilcher's assertion regarding the gap, and affirmed that the spot offered no obstacles to the building of a steam railway.[2]

Marcus Whitman—the young doctor—went with Parker on his trip through South Pass in 1835, and even if he had been ignorant both of Pilcher's letter and Bonneville's previous wagon trip,[3] he could scarcely have gone through the pass in company with a man who was so far-seeing as to discuss its future utilization by a railroad, without an appreciation, on his own part, that no further

[1] The same phraseology used by Melish on his map of 1820.

[2] The text of Parker's observations of 1835 concerning South Pass as a railway route to the western side of the continent is hereafter reproduced in connection with the history of the first trans-continental railroad.

[3] It was then considered necessary by any prospective overland traveller to posess himself of all possible information about the country he intended to traverse.

358.—Taking a wagon through Coldspring Cañon, Wyoming Territory. The gorge varies from about 200 feet to 50 feet in width, and the perpendicular walls are from 300 feet to 600 feet high.

proof of the value of the pass in connection with an overland population movement to the westward was necessary.

For about thirty years, and until recently, it has been contended that Whitman's second trip through the pass—in 1836, on which occasion he took a wheeled vehicle to Fort Boise—was a turning point in the history of the Northwest because it demonstrated the existence of a practicable wagon route over which the head waters of the Columbia River could be reached from the head waters of the Missouri. The recorded history of the South Pass route from 1820 to the year 1835, as herein given, indicates that the relationship between the pass and the region west of it had already been substantially fixed, and that Whitman's trip of 1836, while interesting and important in so far as it did extend vehicular travel to the westward, was not in itself a big event in the westward movement. But in addition to these considerations there has lately been made public a letter written by Whitman himself at the time, in which he discussed the matter here under review. The communication was written in October of 1835, spoke of the trip with Parker, and said: "If Colonel Dodge could go to the Pacific and transport cannon as he did last year, we could cross the mountains with a wagon."[1] In other words, anybody could cross the mountains with a wagon, as Pilcher had affirmed as early as June of 1831, and as Bonneville had demonstrated.

Whitman was also a member of the "Great Migration" of 1843. For several years he had lived and worked

[1] The Whitman letter containing this statement was found by William L. Marshall and incorporated by him in his "Acquisition of Oregon and the Long Suppressed Evidence about Marcus Whitman," Vol. 1, p. 76. Marshall's book (published in 1912) contains a very elaborate analysis of his subject. He points out that Whitman's wagon of 1836 suffered a broken axle while six days east of Fort Hall—and also east of the point reached by Bonneville's twenty loaded wagons—and that westward from the scene of the broken axle, Whitman's wagon proceeded as a two-wheeled vehicle to Fort Boise.

in the isolated stations established by him and his missionary companions on the upper Columbia in 1836. But while the American settlements on the Willamette were flourishing those farther in the interior languished, and finally the missionary board in New England decided to discontinue its support of them. When Whitman heard of this intention, late in 1842, he at once set out for the Atlantic coast, which he reached in safety after the danger and labor of a winter journey. He arrived in New York still clad in his frontier costume of fur cap and leather clothes, paid a visit to Horace Greeley—who called him "the roughest man we have seen this many a day"[1]—and then pushed swiftly on to Boston where his report and pleading resulted in a revocation of the order that had brought him across the continent.[2] Then, hearing of the preparations for the "Great Migration," he hastened back to western Missouri and joined it. He had already made two trips over the route and through South Pass, and in consequence his advice and knowledge were of much help to the thousand people of the company.

The story of this overland march would remain incomplete if it did not show the attitude assumed by the outside world toward those who took part in the movement, toward the possibility of such a journey as they had undertaken, and toward the national significance contained in such a migration. More than twenty years had passed since Floyd introduced before Congress the subject of settling the Oregon country with American emigrants, and no action had as yet been taken by that body. Even the future ownership of the region was a

[1] New York "Tribune," March 29, 1843.

[2] The "Whitman Saved Oregon" story, during its life, was based principally on the contention that Whitman's trip to the United States in the winter of 1842-3 was for the purpose of arousing the Federal government to the importance of the Oregon country, and that he had much to do with originating the migration in whose company he returned to the West.

359.—Whenever a man was hurt, or became too ill to go on, his companions or neighbors on the road put him in a wagon or else contrived a horse-litter in which to carry him. A litter was made of a buffalo skin or heavy blanket, and attached to two poles that were upheld by horses.

matter of uncertainty. A considerable part of the eastern population held the same opinion on the subject as did the Federal senator[1] who called on his colleagues to imagine, if they could, a state from which senators and representatives would require a year to travel to Washington and return home again.

At the very moment when the "Great Migration" was midway between its starting point and its destination the following utterance made its appearance in England regarding the impossibility of such an event:

"However the political questions between England and America, as to the ownership of Oregon, may be decided, Oregon will never be colonized overland from the United States. . . .

"The world must assume a new face before the American wagons may trace a road to the Columbia as they have done to the Ohio."[2]

A contemporary English work on the Oregon region,

[1] Senator McDuffie, of South Carolina.
[2] Edinburgh "Review," July 1, 1843.

which was published in London in 1844, but before news of the success of the migration reached that country, contained the following passages:

"Though several parties have penetrated into the Oregon territory from the United States, through the marshes and over the towering heights of the Rocky Mountains, yet it may be safely asserted, from the concurrent testimony of traders, trappers, and settlers, who have themselves passed those mighty barriers, that the difficulties are so numerous and formidable, and the time necessary for the passage so long, that there is no secure, expeditious, or continuous track, which can ever be used as a highway, so as to afford facilities for an influx of emigrants overland.

"Several routes have been tried of late, and each differs only from the other in the privations which the passengers undergo. None but the wild and fearless fur trapper can clamber over those precipices, and tread those deserts with security, and even these are quitting them as haunts, and using them only as unavoidable tracks. It is true, there have been published more favorable accounts within the last year or two, by parties who have made the journey safely, and who encourage others to make a similar experiment. But these accounts are in such a spirit of bravado, and accompanied with expressions of thankfulness of parties for their own success, that they are indirect evidence of the difficulty and danger of the undertaking, and of the utter hopelessness of such a route for general purposes."[1]

American authorities no less distinguished made similar declarations. In speaking of those who had joined the migration of 1843 Horace Greely said:

"For what do they brave the desert, the wilderness, the savage, the snowy precipices of the Rocky Mountains, the weary summer march, the storm-drenched bivouac and the gnawings of famine? . . . This migration of more than a thousand persons in one body to Oregon wears an aspect of insanity." [2]

There was to come a time when Greeley spoke in another vein. He was not one of the few men of his generation who saw these events with the inward vision of a prophet, and beheld the results that were to follow from them. But by and by, when the hardest of the

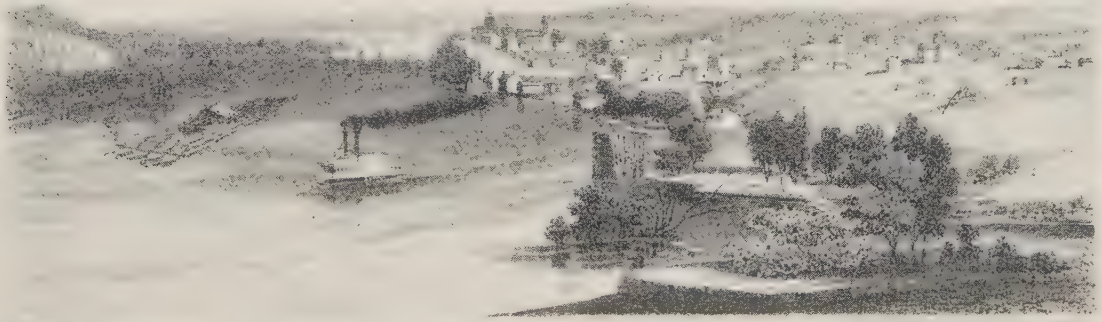
[1] Dunn's "History of the Oregon Territory, Etc." London, 1844: pp. 345-6.
[2] New York "Tribune," July 22, 1843.

pioneer work was finished, he himself went out to the Pacific coast in the footsteps of the men whose reason he had challenged, and looked with his physical eyes on the things they had accomplished. And born of his later journey was that utterance of his which will live longer than any other words he spoke. For he said, "Go West, young man."

But by that time the "young man" was already in the West. As it had been in the past, so it was once again. An obscure trapper named Pilcher had proved himself to be the statesman, and the nameless thousands had justified the wisdom of his estimate. They had completed their work, leaving only its ratification to be brought about by stage-coach and locomotive. Then it was that the mighty ones arose in the majesty of their abounding fame and advised the performance of what had already been done.

The party of Oregon emigrants which started from western Missouri in 1844 was even larger than that of 1843 and numbered about fourteen hundred souls. It was delayed on the way by inclement weather and encountered numerous hardships. In 1845 almost three thousand people similarly departed for the Northwest, although they did not move in one compact body as had been the case during the two preceding summers. They travelled in groups containing from fifty to one hundred and fifty wagons each. Some of these parties of 1845 combined at a point westward of Fort Boise, and unwisely sought to reach their destination by an untried route. They wandered in the wilderness for forty days, suffering much from hunger and thirst, and about seventy-five of the six or eight hundred involved perished.[1]

[1] According to Schafer, in his "History of the Pacific Northwest," p. 210.



360.—St. Paul, as the settlement appeared before an overwhelming population movement invaded the upper Mississippi valley and the Minnesota and Dakota regions. During the first years of the filling-up process in the West nearly all the moving host swept onward to the Pacific coast.

By this time there were some six thousand Americans in the northwestern country, and a few of them had penetrated north of the Columbia River and settled in the Puget Sound district.[1] They already had a typical American government, although located more than two thousand miles from the nearest similar community that lay within close reach of the Federal power. Their first political organization had been effected in 1843, while the "Great Migration" was still on its march, a code of laws having been adopted by the people on July 5 of that year.[2] The declaration of the settlers began:

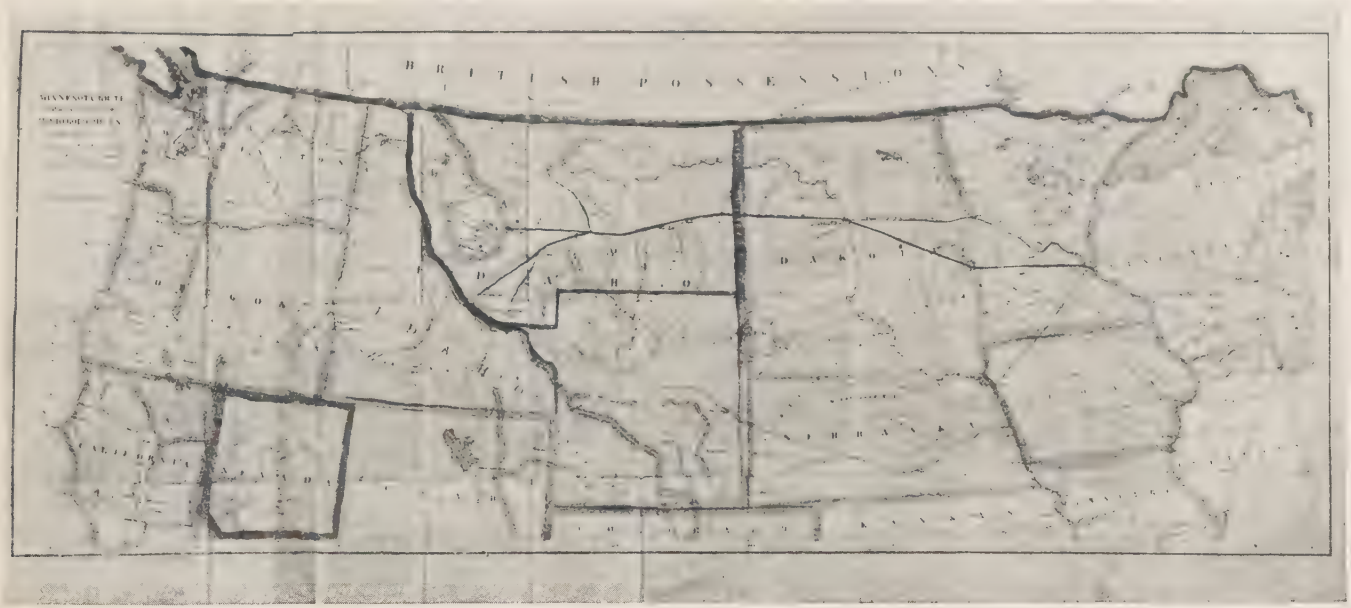
"We, the people of Oregon Territory, for purposes of mutual protection, and to secure peace and prosperity among ourselves, agree to adopt the following laws and regulations until such time as the United States of America extend their jurisdiction over us."

In taking this step the few hundred emigrants who so acted followed the example of the little Wautaga republic which was set up amid the forests of eastern Tennessee just before the first invasion of the Kentucky country by the hill people of the Carolinas and Virginia. Each of those groups of pioneers was temporarily lost in a wilderness, was out of touch with any source of higher authority, and wholly dependent upon itself for the creation of such regulations as would constitute an organic basis of society.

The arrival of the companies of 1844 and 1845 brought about a number of changes in the political organization of the northwestern pioneers, and the simultaneous action of the Hudson's Bay Company in placing itself under the jurisdiction of the provisional government established by

[1] This was in opposition to the desire and advice of the Hudson's Bay Fur Company, but the local officers of that powerful body did not go beyond the point of verbal remonstrance. They had treated American arrivals on the Columbia with consideration and had even given much needed aid to some of them.

[2] Known as the First Organic Law; quoted in full in Strong and Schafer's "Government of the American People," Oregon edition, Boston, 1901; Appendix.



361.—The "Rubber Stamp" map of the Northwest. Published by D. D. Merrill, of St. Paul, in 1864, to show a new overland route from St. Paul, and the latest territorial lines and settlements in the northwestern country. When the map was being made Idaho embraced all the region between Nebraska and Dakota on the east, Colorado on the south and Oregon and Washington in the west, and was so defined on the printed sheet. But the map as printed was out of date before it was ready for sale. The boundary of the new-shaped Idaho was therefore drawn by hand with a brush, Montana was similarly corrected, and both territories had to be properly labeled by means of rubber stamps, while Wyoming was left as a blank space and the erroneous name "Idaho" had to remain as originally printed. Helena, Silverbow City and other towns were added by pen and ink, and the map was then offered to the public. It never caught up with shifting conditions.

the Americans resulted in making British interests in the disputed country subsidiary to those of the United States. The political destiny of the Oregon region was definitely settled by treaty with England during the following year, and the American Republic found itself in undisputed possession of the Pacific coast up to the forty-ninth parallel of north latitude. By means of the events here recited this country had come into possession of a province containing more than two hundred and fifty thousand square miles of territory, later to be erected into the commonwealths of Washington, Oregon and Idaho.[1]

But although in possession of the country from the standpoint of international law the United States still failed to exercise its authority, and did not bring about that closer union which would have been made possible through the organization of a territorial government by Congress. And again the cause of the delay in recognizing an accomplished fact was to be found in jealousy. When the Oregon pioneers established their first independent government they included in their constitution a provision that neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as punishment for crime, should exist in the region occupied and controlled by them. This decision on their part aroused the opposition of those far distant American commonwealths in which human slavery still existed, and the attitude of those states in the Federal Senate blocked the way to territorial government for the Northwest. Not until the occurrence of a tragedy which swept aside the elements of selfishness and appealed to profounder human impulses was it possible to consummate the work thus far carried forward. Marcus Whitman, his wife

[1] Thirteen thousand square miles of the original "Oregon" are also embraced in the northwestern part of the present state of Wyoming, and twenty-eight thousand square miles are in Montana.

and twelve other white men and women of the Oregon missions met death in terrible form at the hands of the Indians on November 29, 1847.

The causes leading to the native outbreak were multiple in number, rather complex in character, and of several years' growth.[1] But perhaps the immediate incentive to dreadful violence was a belief, entertained by the Indians, that the white physician was poisoning them. Immigrants from the East had brought measles to Whitman's settlement at Waiilatpu, and that familiar malady of civilization attacked the Indians and spread among them with virulence. Whitman, being a physician, ministered to both races with impartiality and to the utmost of his strength. Most of the whites who were attacked recovered quickly, but the natives persistently succumbed. The disease was one of those unfortunate gifts bestowed by the Caucasians on the red race with which the Indians were not previously acquainted, and of whose effects they strongly disapproved. When they beheld the consistent recovery of the whites and the death of their own people, it seemed in their eyes that the white doctor was unfair, and was saving the afflicted of his own race in preference to theirs. This attitude of mind even developed into a suspicion that the white man was poisoning the natives who were ill. They decided to carry out a long considered policy[2] by killing him, and did so, including in their supposed vengeance a number of his presumed co-conspirators. In addition to those who were

[1] Many of the natives resented the presence and increase of white men among them. As far back as 1842 they had been irritated by the effort of an Indian agent who tried to force certain Caucasian laws upon them; injudicious talk of white men, in 1842 and 1843, gave the natives an impression that Whitman had gone East for soldiers to fight them; a belief existed among many natives that the Americans wanted their land and wanted to kill them off in some manner; various Indians had been killed by white men without justification (though such crimes were frowned upon by the bulk of the white settlers); Whitman had entertained, in his home, other white men who had previously killed natives.

[2] Soon to be discussed in these pages.

362.—Dog-sled of the far West. A favorite manner of winter travel. From a drawing done by Frederick Kurz in 1851.

murdered the natives imprisoned about fifty other white immigrants at the settlement. They, however, were saved by the exertions and influence of a Hudson's Bay Company official. Some of the natives who had done the killing were captured, sentenced to death after due trial, and so punished. As a result of the outbreak the settlers addressed another appeal to the distant government at Washington in which they said:

"If it be at all the intention of our honored parent to spread her guardian wings over her sons and daughters in Oregon, she surely will not refuse to do it now, when they are struggling with all the ills of a

weak and temporary government, and when perils are daily thickening around them, and preparing to burst upon their heads. When the ensuing summer's sun shall have dispelled the snow from the mountains, we shall look with glowing hopes and restless anxiety for the coming of your laws and your arms."

Ten of the pioneers started eastward from the military camp of the colonists on March 4—which was as soon after the tragedy as travel conditions permitted—and reached St. Louis on May 17, in the short time of two months and thirteen days, bringing with them to civilization the tale of events that had happened nearly six months before. Congressional opposition to the establishment of Federal law on the western coast could not prevail against the nation-wide interest and sympathy inspired by such tidings, and Oregon was given territorial government in August of 1848. The first governor[1] started westward during the same month over the Santa Fé trail, and although he took ship at San Francisco for the last part of his journey, he did not reach Oregon until March of 1849.

We now come to the consideration of two or three matters associated with the early Caucasian movement to the Oregon country that—for an interesting reason—have not hitherto received attention. The dramatic and dreadful fate of Whitman and his colleagues led to the incorporation of the remote Northwest into the political fabric of the United States. Yet the proposed killing of Whitman, and the further strange fact that he and his associates had even debated that matter in formal council with the Indians, had been published in a printed book in the United States, and had received publicity in this country for a year or more before the tragedy took place.

Among the thousand members of the "Great Migra-

[1] General Joseph Lane.

tion" of 1843 were two men named Overton Johnson and William H. Winter, of whom but little is known. They returned to Indiana late in the summer of 1845,[1] jointly wrote a book in description of their experience while on the trip to the Pacific coast, and published their volume in the town of Lafayette during 1846, under the title: *Route Across the Rocky Mountains, with a Description of Oregon and California; Their Geographical Features, Their Resources, Soil, Climate, Productions, etc., etc. By Overton Johnson and Wm. H. Winter, of the Emigration of 1843.*[2]

The two travellers announced in their book the peculiar relations existing between Whitman and the white settlers on one side and the Indians on the other, and also included in it a statement concerning the treatment received by the emigrants of 1843 at the hands of the Hudson's Bay Company agent at Fort Hall, which second matter has long been a subject of debate.[3] On their journey homeward from Oregon they halted for some time near Whitman's missionary station, and there came in contact with events which they described in these words:

"While we were encamped in the neighborhood of the Mission,[4] a party of twenty or thirty Chiefs and braves, a deputation from the Walawala, Nez Pierce, and Kious Indians,[5] came, and met in council with Dr. Whitman, Mr. Spaulding, and other gentlemen connected

[1] While on their way back they encountered 3,000 members of the 1845 migration scattered along 500 miles of the trail.

[2] This work remained unknown to investigators of western history for sixty years. Marshall, who ransacked the country for material while preparing his "Acquisition of Oregon" (and who died in 1906) did not know of it. He said (Vol. 1, p. 97): "Unfortunately no contemporary book was published by any member of that [1843] migration." Shortly after Marshall's death the Oregon Historical Society discovered and announced the existence of the book, reprinted it in successive numbers of its Quarterly for 1906, and therein said that two copies were known, one in the University of California Library and another in the Congressional Library. The present author has located two more copies; one in the Indiana State Library, and another, privately owned, from which the extracts given in these pages are quoted.

[3] Johnson and Winter said (p. 118) that on their return trip in 1845 the agent—Captain Grant—gave them "every assistance, attention and respect," which attitude was "contrary to the treatment we formerly received from him, while on our way to Oregon."

[4] In May of 1845.

[5] The Walla Walla, Nez Percés and Cayuse.

with the Mission. They told the Missionaries that the hearts of some of their people were bad; and the object of the council proved to be a trial, to ascertain whether Dr. Whitman was not worthy of death. The charges brought against the Doctor were these:"

Then Johnson and Winter went on to relate the killing of several Indians by white men, one of the victims having been a native preacher and pupil of the Mission named Elijah, a son of Yellow Serpent, chief of the Walla Walla, who was present in person at the council to accuse the whites and demand an equal blood vengeance for the death of his son. The statement of the Indian attitude then continued:

"But their object, however, was not to punish; it was rather to have an equivalent. They only wished that the Americans should suffer a loss as great at their own. Dr. Whitman reasoned with them, and appealed to them, by every means which he thought would tend, in the least, to affect them in his favor; and so did all the others, but it was in vain. After a long consultation, by which they appeared to be not the least shaken in their opinions, they went away, saying that they themselves would not disturb the Missionaries; but that they could not help what their young men might do. After the council was ended, several of our party, who were present, expressed their opinions to the gentlemen of the Mission; saying that they considered it both imprudent and wrong in them to hazard their own lives, and the lives of their families, by remaining longer among these people. Dr. Whitman, who is naturally a man of excellent judgment, and especially so with matters relating to the Indians, and who is, moreover, not to be frightened where there is no cause to fear, replied that he also believed that prudence, and their safety, required that they should abandon the Mission for a time, at least. The same opinion was expressed by all the other gentlemen."[1]

Marshall, although unaware of the Johnson-Winter narrative here quoted, did discover and include in his *Acquisition of Oregon* a previously unpublished letter written by Whitman which corroborates their account of the extraordinary council. Whitman's communication was written on May 20, 1845,[2] and in part read:

"While most of the Indians have been for peace on their part, some

[1] Johnson-Winter, pp. 109-112.
[2] It was addressed to D. Greene, Secretary of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions.

have urged that as Elijah was educated and was a leader in religious worship and learning, and so in revenge one of the same grade must be killed of the Americans, and Mr. Spalding or myself were proposed as suitable victims. This subject is not yet settled. . . ."

The calm, apparently dispassionate council of Waiilatpu, in which red men and white men debated with one another concerning the moral propriety of killing one of the Caucasians who was participating in the discussion, was doubtless one of the strangest incidents connected with the long history of race misunderstanding and antagonism. And the council adjourned without having reached a definite decision, presumably to be convened again at the call of the proposed victim. As Whitman remarked in his routine report: "This subject is not yet settled."

Two thoughts spring into being when our minds first come in contact with the knowledge of this peculiar event. It brings to us, for one thing, a better understanding of the change wrought in our social affairs during very recent times. We realize, with somewhat of shock, that in the lifetime of men not yet considered old, white travellers in the western half of the present United States might be confronted with natural conditions and human standards that could involve them in such a situation as has just been described. And we are also impelled to wonder—profitless though the process may be—what different chain of events would have resulted had the published warning of Johnson and Winter inspired effective action, while there was yet time, to avert the tragedy. In that case the entrance of the Northwest into the American nation could still have been blocked by the dominant political influence of slavery, and it is inconsistent with our knowledge of pioneer character to suppose that those distant men—barred from this republic—

CONNECTIONS

OF THE

NORTHWESTERN STAGE CO.

AT BOISE CITY

with Northwestern Stage Company's LINES OF STAGES for IDAHO CITY, SILVER CITY, PLACERVILLE, CENTREVILLE, PIONEER CITY, and CANYON CITY, Oregon.

AT BAKER CITY

with Northwestern Stage Company's LINES OF STAGES for ELDORADO, WILLOW CREEK and GEM CITY MINES.

AT WALLA WALLA

with Northwestern Stage Company's LINES OF STAGES for PIERCE CITY, LEWISTON and WALLULA.

AT UMATILLA

with Oregon Steam Navigation Company's STEAMERS for THE DALLES and PORTLAND, Oregon.

TIME, UMATILLA TO PORTLAND, 30 HOURS.

THE CONCORD COACHES

(DRAWN BY FOUR AND SIX HORSES)

RUN ON THIS ROUTE.

363.—After numerous towns had come into existence in Oregon, Idaho and Washington, Concord stage-coaches were introduced and the widely separated settlements of the Northwest were at first united by that method of transportation, as the villages and towns of the East had been similarly joined a century before.

would have done otherwise than set up a separate nation of their own within a short time.[1]

Johnson and Winter, in common with other observant travellers through unfamiliar lands, had much to say about the country they traversed, its native peoples and future possibilities. In some things they were right, and in others wrong, but always they were interesting. Of the continent between the Rockies and the Pacific they ventured to predict:

"With a very few exceptions in this whole vast scope of territory lying immediately beyond the Rocky Mountains, extending West several hundred miles and to an uncertain distance North and South, there can never locate any civilized society. Their inhabitants will be like those in the Deserts of Arabia, and in the Sahara of Africa."[2]

The two pilgrims from the United States naturally discussed those conditions due to Caucasian travel and settlement in the Northwest, and in the following fashion recommended a military occupation of the Oregon country:

"A good body of soldiers, garisoned in the Walawala Valley, would not only be of great benefit in protecting the emigrants, and whoever else might wish to pass through that country, but also to the Indians themselves. For such a garison would keep them in awe, and thereby prevent them from committing depredations, for which they would afterward have to be punished. They would, at the same time, protect the rights of the Indians, prevent feuds from arising between them and the white people, and establish a peace and friendship, which would be lasting, and beneficial to both; favorable to the civilization of the Indians, and to the promulgation and extension of Christian principles among them."[3]

The plan they recommended—so different in its character from the system advocated by the unknown philosopher whose letter of 1818 has previously been quoted[4] —was adopted. The wise man of 1818, out of the

[1] As, indeed, it was freely predicted in Congress and throughout the country that they would do if they were not made a part of this political union.
[2] Johnson and Winter, p. 87.
[3] Ibid, p. 112.
[4] The letter from Prairie du Chien, published in the "Indiana Centinel" of May 29, 1829.

riches of his experience, had said: "Military compulsion will not be useful in civilizing Indians." Never, in any age or continent of which the annals have been preserved, has a lasting, mutually beneficial peace and friendship between two peoples been established—as Johnson and Winter suggested—on a basis of guns held in the hands of one race for the purpose of keeping the other race in awe. Their expression of such a sentiment seems tinged with the mental reservations so characteristic of Caucasian thought on the subject at that time. But when the two travellers devoted themselves more to a review of conditions already brought about by race contact in the West, and to consideration of the future consequences of that social contact, they were on surer ground. Their discourse on that phase of the question ran:

"These Southern Valleys of Oregon, though in their present state of nature so lonely, so wild, and so secluded; though they now threaten the travelers who pass, at intervals of years, with dangers from the rugged mountain path, the swollen torrent and the savage arrow; though many a gloomy glen, and rocky gorge and dark and tangled wood which have been stained with conflict, or storied by some savage ambuscade, still stand to awaken terror in the passer by; yet these Valleys, notwithstanding their wildness and dangers, offer inducements (deadly to the fated native) for which, ere long, the stronger hand of the white man will beat back the present wild and implacable inhabitants, and make them the homes of civilization. . . . It is possible that this portion of Oregon will be acquired from the natives in the same manner that portions of the United States have already been acquired—by force. And should it be so acquired, and when judgment comes upon the conqueror for conquest, there will be none upon whom it will fall more lightly, for there are no people who deserve more justly, punishment for 'all manner of wickedness,' than the natives of the Rogue's River and Clamuth Valleys. . . .

"The Indians west of the Cascade Mountains are divided into numerous small bands, and many of them without any acknowledged head. There were once, on the waters of the Columbia, the Willammette, and along the shore of the Ocean, powerful tribes; but pestilence and disease, since the coming of the white man, have swept them rapidly away, until but a few, poor, wretched, degraded beings, beyond

the reach of charity, remain. Once Chenamus, a proud, intelligent and influential Chief of the Chenooks held sway over all the tribes between the shores of the Pacific and the Cascades, and between the Umqua and Puget's Sound, and extended his influence beyond the Mountains. But after his death his place was never filled, and now the bones of his people are scattered upon the rocks and hills, and their dwelling places are their graves. The bones of hundreds, perhaps thousands, lay heaped up promiscuously, together. And every isolated rock that rises out of the Columbia is covered with the canoes of the dead. They are nearly all gone, and disease is still sweeping the miserable remnant away. . . .

"Perhaps no where on the great American Continent, on either side of the Isthmus of Panama, has their intercourse with the white man been more ruinous to them than it has here. It is, however, no less strange than true and deplorable, that wherever the white man has had intercourse with the Indian, almost without an exception it has tended both morally and physically to degrade, sink and destroy him."[1]

Last of all these delineations of the primitive Oregon which we may take from the pens of the two emigrants is their vision of the land as it was destined to become when transformed by men of the race they represented. In that effort they were more happy in prediction, and they said:

"Here may the imagination lift the veil which hides the future, and peer into the destinies of this fair land. As it runs over the wide prospect it peoples it with thousands and thousands of busy inhabitants, sees every plain checkered with fields, and even the steep and rugged mountain-side made to yield to the hand of the husbandman; everywhere houses, gardens, orchards and vineyards, scattered in countless multitudes over hill and valley; flocks and herds feeding on every hand; the broad highways coursing the valley or winding away over the hills, thronged with a busy concourse all moving hurriedly to and fro, engaged in the avocations of a civilized life; sees villages, towns and cities, with massive walls and glittering spires which have risen above the mouldering huts of a departed race. It looks forward to the time when . . . the powerful locomotive, with its heavy train, will fly along the rattling railway; when, instead of yon frail canoe, the proud steamer will dash along the majestic river; when that Ocean, now idly breaking on its cragged shores, shall be whitened with the sails of commerce."[2]

Here we may leave the Northwest, safely started on its way to the assured fulfillment of these dreams, and turn our gaze toward the unfolding of another panorama.

[1] Johnson-Winter, pp. 47-55.
[2] Johnson-Winter. pp. 67-68.

CHAPTER LIII

THE MORMON OVERLAND PILGRIMAGE OF 1846-1848 — EVENTS THAT LED TO IT — EXPULSION OF THE CHURCH OF LATTER DAY SAINTS FROM NAUVOO — COMMENCEMENT OF THE MOST PRETENTIOUS GROUP-MIGRATION IN AMERICAN HISTORY — LIFE IN THE LOG HUTS, SOD HOVELS AND CAVES — ATTITUDE OF THE INDIANS — A WINTER OF SUFFERING — MARCH OF THE ADVANCE PARTY IN 1847 — DISCOVERY OF THE GREAT SALT LAKE VALLEY — TAKING THE NEWS BACK TO THE MISSOURI — ANOTHER WINTER IN THE WILDERNESS — ARRIVAL OF THE WANDERING HOST IN UTAH AFTER TWO AND A HALF YEARS ON THE ROAD — UTAH SETTLED

DURING the same years that witnessed the migrations to Oregon and the establishment of American government in that part of the continent there was also taking place another series of events, very different in character, which finally resulted in a still larger hegira to the westward. These last mentioned happenings were the events leading up to and attending the expulsion of the Latter Day Saints, or Mormons, from their city east of the Mississippi, and their movement to remote recesses beyond the Rocky Mountains. About fifteen thousand people began the long enforced journey in 1846, and the larger part of that number reached their new home during the next two and a half years. But there was much

necessary halting by the way, and some did not arrive in Utah until as late a date as 1853.

A detailed account of the strange and interesting early history of the religious body popularly known as the Mormon Church—as that history developed in the states of New York, Ohio, Missouri and Illinois prior to the year 1845—does not belong in these pages.[1] It is sufficient to say that it was characterized by a gradually increasing distrust, bitterness of feeling and hostility manifested toward the Mormons by their neighbors in every locality where adherents of the new creed sought to establish themselves as permanent communities. That attitude was displayed through petty annoyances, and in some places by lawlessness which took the form of prolonged physical attacks against property and human life. Yet the animosity in question does not appear to have been founded on those aspects of the new sect which were peculiarly or exclusively religious in their nature. It was, rather, seemingly based on certain social and economic phases attending the religious movement, for some of which—both good and bad—the Mormons themselves were responsible, but others of which attached themselves to the organization like barnacles and brought upon the whole body of its membership severe tribulations they did not deserve. The popular thought and habits of the time, and a scantier regard for social order than now prevails, had much to do with the whole record of early Mormon troubles.

The first removal of the organization from the place of its birth in a New York state village[2] was not due to the enmity of a surrounding population, and is easily under-

[1] Few phases of the national history have excited more controversy. A detailed analysis of the subject may be found in Linn's "The Story of the Mormons."
[2] Fayette, Seneca county. It came into being on April 6, 1830.

364.—March of the Mormons from Illinois to that part of Mexico now known as Utah. The Mormon city of Nauvoo, and starting point of the enforced exodus. Crowning the hill stood the Temple. From the Dusseldorf series of Mississippi River views, after Lewis.

standable. The church had its foundation in the statement of a young man named Joseph Smith to the effect that under guidance of a vision he had found, buried in the earth, a quantity of metallic tablets imprinted with strange characters which he had been given power to translate, and which he said proved to be the text of a religious book, or "bible," that had been deposited many centuries before in the place where he had discovered the plates.[1] He issued his translation in printed form in 1830, calling himself the proprietor of the work, and on it as a basis—aided by a few associates—established a new church and assumed the functions of priest and prophet. The speedy removal of Smith and his followers to the town of Kirtland, Ohio, in January of 1831, was principally due to the fact that the New York rural neighborhood where he had been known gave small attention to his new rôle in the community, and as a consequence the progress of the church was unsatisfactory.

Its growth in Ohio was much more rapid. In those days the population of the western country was peculiarly susceptible to all influences of the sort, and within a few years the Latter Day Saints constituted a considerable and growing community whose membership was industrious and land-acquiring. The cause probably contributing in largest extent to its collapse in Ohio was the failure of a financial plan of its leaders, who issued paper money which they were unable to redeem in specie on demand. Smith ultimately left Ohio in 1838 because of the resulting disfavor and went to western Missouri, where, at the town of Independence, Mormons had also organized a settlement in 1831. There the bulk of the Ohio church

[1] The "Book of Mormon," or Mormon Bible. As published by Smith it contained various chapters that were literal transcriptions of the King James Bible. The writing on the tablets, Smith said, was "reformed Egyptian."

soon followed him. But the rapid acquisition of land by the Mormons in Missouri, their growth in numbers, their manifestation of a clan spirit, and a fear on the part of surrounding settlers that they would soon dominate the region if permitted to remain, resulted in an outbreak of

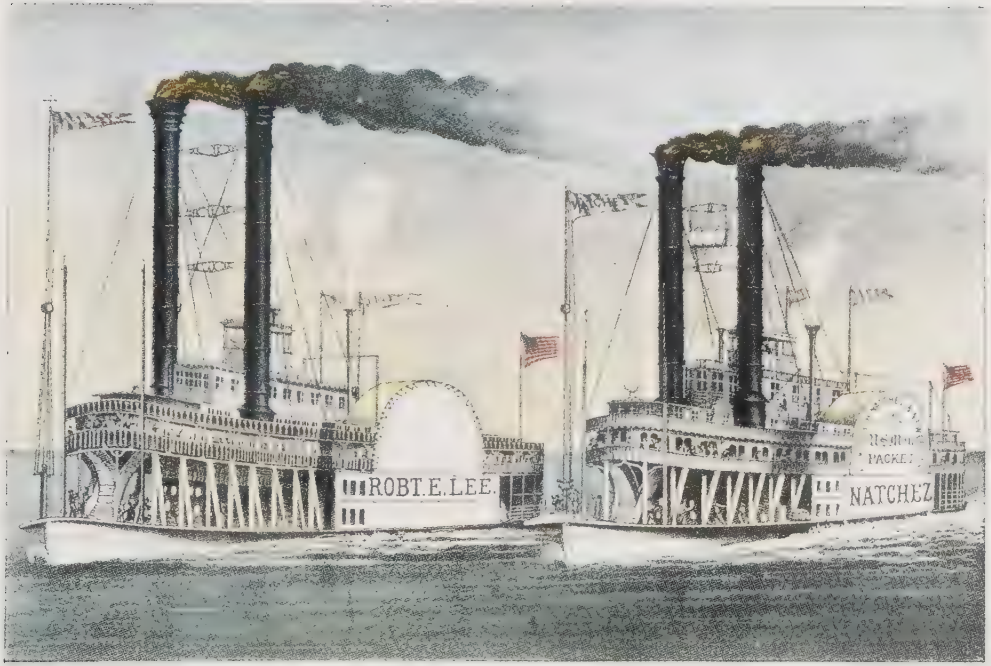
365.—Ruins of the Mormon Temple at Nauvoo in 1853. Engraved from a sketch by the English artist, Frederick Piercy. Published in London by the Mormon Church in 1855, in company with Piercy's drawings of the Oregon trail and Mormon migrations.

virtual warfare against them. Much of their property was burned or otherwise destroyed, many members of the church were maltreated, Governor Boggs issued a proclamation saying they must be exterminated or driven forth, and in the winter of 1838-39 they were evicted from the state.

The last settlement made by the Mormons east of the Mississippi—following the events just narrated—was in

a then insignificant village called Commerce, situated on the eastern shore of the Mississippi River in the state of Illinois, opposite the southeastern corner of the territory of Iowa. The town of Commerce contained perhaps three or four hundred people when the Mormons chose it because of its favorable natural location. By April of 1840 it had grown to be a town of two hundred and fifty houses, and its name was changed by the government to Nauvoo. Under the Mormon influence Nauvoo expanded so rapidly both in size and prosperity that by the year 1845 it had become the most important place in Illinois. It was bigger than Chicago or any other town, contained various growing industries, and was surrounded by an agricultural region that yielded good crops to the Mormon farmers. During the preceding three years its inhabitants had gradually become involved in the acrimonious political struggles of the time, as a result of efforts made both by Whigs and Democrats to secure the favor of its numerically influential population at elections. It also appears probable that jealousy of Mormon prosperity was growing in the minds of the surrounding white population, and it is certain that the neighbors of the Latter Day Saints objected to Nauvoo's reputation as a repository of stolen goods.[1] As a result of these and allied conditions a state of actual war against the Mormons developed in 1845, and by the autumn of that year it became apparent to the

[1] During the period under review an extensive adjacent district of Illinois was involved in a controversy regarding its land titles, and as a consequence lawless squatters had gathered on the affected territory. Horse thieves, counterfeiters and miscreants of all sorts swarmed through the near-by country. Many of them, discovering the habit of the Mormons to "stand together," had joined the Church of Latter Day Saints, ostensibly as a result of conversion, but in reality to secure the endorsement and aid of the Mormons in case they were accused of crime. That Nauvoo contained a population element of the sort, and that thieves brought their plunder there, was recognized by the church authorities in their official and printed statements. The surrounding victims of thievery came to look on the Mormon town as a menace, which—at least in the respect suggested—it was. And, besides, Illinois had granted to Nauvoo such extreme powers of self-government as to make the city almost independent of the rest of the state, and it was practically impossible to secure the punishment of the criminal element at the hands of its courts.



Won by the R.E.Lee. Time 3 Days 9 Hours and [illegible] Minutes. Distance 1210 Miles.

Most celebrated of all the innumerable speed duels between river steamboats. The whole country watched its progress, and vast sums were wagered on the result. F. Lith. Col. Amer.

governing men of the church that they could no longer maintain their position. They therefore announced an intention to vacate the city, and their declaration to that effect resulted in a partial though not complete cessation of hostilities. Having come to this decision the people worked with desperate energy through the winter of 1845-6 in preparation for their impending departure. The results of their exertions during the winter months were afterwards thus described:

"In the meantime, the Mormons made the most enormous efforts for removal; all the houses in Nauvoo, not even excepting the temple, having been converted into workshops, so that before spring more than 12,000 wagons were in readiness for removing their families and effects. By the middle of May about 16,000 Mormons had crossed the Mississippi on their march to California, leaving about a thousand of their number behind in Nauvoo, such as, having no money, or property which they could convert into money, were without the means of removing."[1]

The actual evacuation of the city was not a matter of a few hours, but began in February and was kept up for a number of months. Each daily cavalcade consisted of those families which were finally ready for the journey. The inhabitants of the town—it covered an area of several square miles and was surrounded by farms and orchards—had been selling their houses and lands since the autumn before and converting the proceeds into such things as were necessary for the coming march. Every household, if possible, provided itself with a big canvas-covered wagon, three or four yoke of oxen, a cow or two for milking, several cattle to be used as food, a number of sheep, a tent, farm tools, seeds, firearms, extra clothing, half a dozen barrels of flour and as much other portable food as might be obtained or carried. But this standard of equipment, if it may be so called, could not be followed

[1] Gerhard's "Illinois as It Is," p. 119. Gerhard's and also Ford's "History of Illinois" contain accounts of the lawlessness preceding and accompanying the Mormon evacuation of Nauvoo.

by all the people of Nauvoo. They had to dispose of their property for whatever it would command at forced sale. Even the most well-to-do were none too amply fortified against the experience about to befall them, and the poor —though aided as much as possible—were indeed in sorry state to begin an overland trip across half a continent. Some families had only the two-wheeled cart, drawn by a single animal, and a few had no vehicles at all.

Two dominant characteristics of the Mormons at this time deserve mention in order that their demeanor on their pilgrimage, and the attitude later to be displayed by them toward the nation whose bounds they left, may be better understood. They were, in the first place, a brave and resolute community undismayed by adversity and repeated disaster to their fortunes. And they were also filled with feelings of hostility and bitterness toward other Americans in general, as a consequence of the almost constant physical attacks to which they had been subjected in Missouri and Illinois for about ten years, in spite of their appeals to the Federal and state governments. These assaults had recently culminated in the destruction of much property on the outskirts of Nauvoo and in the murder of Joseph Smith—then mayor of the town—and his brother Hyrum. The two men, when killed, were confined in a jail at Carthage under the protection of state militia and the Governor's assurance of their safety.

Those composing the vanguard of the migration, after crossing the Mississippi in flatboats and skiffs, established a camp in Iowa and waited for the arrival of others before setting forth on the first stage of their expedition. The Mormons had asked Iowa for permission to march through its extent to Council Bluffs, a distance of about

366.—On the Oregon trail. A group of Mormon wagons and a herd of live stock crossing the Missouri River at the Council Bluffs ferry. The trees are cottonwoods, chief reliance of the river traffic and overland caravans for canoes and fuel. From a drawing made by Piercy in 1853.

400 miles, and the territory had granted the request. Later in February the Mississippi became frozen, and many families crossed on the ice. Storms, snow, and a temperature of twenty degrees below zero distinguished the first encampment west of the river, and thus an initiation of suffering greeted the pilgrims at the outset of their movement. About two thousand men, women and children, and several thousand cattle and other farm animals assembled on Iowa soil before the end of the month, and the head of the long west-bound column was at last set in motion. One of the leading men of the Latter Day Saints afterward thus referred to the commencement of the pilgrimage:

"On the first of March, the ground covered with snow, we broke encampment about noon, and soon nearly four hundred wagons were moving to—we knew not where."

The astonishing assertion with which the above statement concludes was literally true. The Mormons did not know where they were going. They had no specific destination in view. They only knew they had failed to live in peace with their neighbors in the United States, and had to find a home elsewhere or disintegrate as a religious and economic body. So they turned their faces toward the West, hoping that somewhere in what was then northern Mexico, beyond the Rocky Mountains, they could discover a retreat where they might again live in their own fashion, free of the nation, flag and people at which they were angered. Those fifteen thousand human beings sold the city they had built and set forth into a virtually unknown country as avowed wanderers. Their head men told them that when they reached their future home they

would immediately and intuitively know that the hegira had come to an end. And so it eventually happened. But, as in the case of Daniel Boone, the Mormons were in one matter doomed to disappointment. For hardly had the advance guard of the Saints reached the distant valley of the Great Salt Lake when it and all the surrounding territory passed into possession of the country from which they had desired to escape.

During the spring and summer of 1846 additional fragments of Nauvoo's population crossed the river and added themselves to the stream of emigrants that was slowly creeping westward over the Iowa prairies. A semi-military discipline was put into effect among the marchers. Companies were formed, each containing about fifty wagons, and the vehicles were assembled at night. Sentries were posted, and the live stock was entrusted to the care of guards. Each group of ten men was under control of a leader called a "captain of ten," and similar officers, of correspondingly higher rank, had charge of fifty men and of a hundred men.

Inclement weather followed the caravan until May. The ground had to be cleared of snow and ice before tents could be set up. There were no roads which might be followed by the wagons. After a heavy rain or snow the country was impassable for the baggage of such a host, and under those conditions long halts had to be made. Sometimes, at night, the wet clothing and bedding of the moving people would be frozen solid. Progress under such circumstances was very slow. The live stock suffered from exertion, exposure and lack of food, and began to die. A further glimpse at this part of the migration is afforded through the medium of a diary kept by

Orson Pratt, a prominent figure among the Mormons, which under the date of April 9, said:[1]

"With great exertion a part of the camp were enabled to get about six miles, while others were stuck fast in the deep mud. . . We were obliged to cut brush and limbs of trees, and throw them upon the ground in our tents, to keep our beds from sinking in the mud. Our animals were turned loose to look out for themselves; the bark and limbs of trees were their principal food."

In mid-April the leading detachment found it necessary to make a protracted halt for purposes of recuperation. A camp called "Garden Grove" was therefore established about a hundred and fifty miles west of Nauvoo, log houses were put up, wells were dug, land was ploughed, and seed was planted that crops might spring up for the benefit of those who were still to come. Again, in May, a similar camp named "Mount Pisgah" was created still farther west, and there several thousand acres were sown to grain and vegetables that later wayfarers might garner.

The whole course of the Mormon march across Iowa was dotted with like localities of temporary sojourn, and the American pioneer spirit was constantly manifested from the commencement of the exodus until its completion. Whenever a stop was made in Iowa many of those not wanted in the building of the camp—women as well as men—sold their services to adjacent permanent settlers and took their wages in much prized provisions for man and beast more needy than themselves. Still other men went on ahead to build rude roads and bridges. Flatboats were also put together as a means of getting the wagons across the larger streams. Skiffs for the women and children were carried by the Saints on specially made

[1] Printed in the "Millennial Star," Vol. XI, p. 370. The "Millennial Star," a newspaper published by the Latter Day Saints, was first issued in Liverpool, England, in 1840.

367.—On the Oregon trail. Mormon wagon train crossing the Loup Fork ferry. A rope was stretched over the river as an aid in pulling the floating wagons to the other shore. Huts built of cottonwood timber were erected at necessary halting places along the line of march. From a drawing made by Piercy in 1853.

boat-wagons until the Mississippi was reached. Nor was toil the only portion of these wanderers during the early days of their journey. They had their gayer hours as well. Partly because of the foresight of their leaders, and in perhaps still greater part due to the spirit of the people themselves, the nomads persistently clung to some of the amusements of that more civilized life which they had temporarily abandoned. No sooner had a camp been made—whether for a long stay or for but a single night—and its necessary work been done, than suitable spaces were cleared, a concert was given, the young folks danced and sang, and the older generation fell to gossip or consultation. It is safe to say that whatever else was abandoned at Nauvoo, no musical instrument of any variety was left behind when the city was deserted. All accompanied their owners, and they were daily tooted, scraped and twanged either in festal frolic, religious service, or dirge, from Illinois to the Salt Lake. The Mormons, while in their city, had maintained a really excellent band equipped with admirable instruments, and its organization was continued throughout the long expedition.

The head of the column reached the Mississippi River at Council Bluffs in June, and the bulk of the party which had set forth on March 1 attained the same point in July. It had been more than four months in traversing the four hundred miles. But let it not be understood that all the thousands involved in this movement travelled together, or in any order resembling one column. While the vanguard of the hegira had been traversing Iowa, and halting from time to time, still others had constantly been issuing from Nauvoo as they completed their preparations. By the month of August, then, there existed a line of exiled Mormon population which extended almost en-

368.—A view of Salt Lake City in its early days, soon after the wandering Mormons had found the valley of the Great Salt Lake, chosen it as their future abode and begun the creation of a new community.

tirely across Iowa territory. Some were encamped on the Mississippi and creating there a settlement in which to pass the approaching winter; others were sojourning in the several log-hut and agricultural camps already mentioned, where they proposed to spend the coming cold season; and still others were creaking over the prairies in their wagons, amid clouds of dust raised by the feet of their oxen and farm stock. Thus far the exodus had been more or less in touch with outlying settlers, and —save in the circumstances of its origin—had not been productive of features that were inconsistent with the migration of so large a population group under unfavorable conditions. There had been births, sickness, deaths, hunger, labor and laughter. The best equipped and earliest starters of fifteen thousand human beings and their herds had traversed four hundred miles, there pausing to prepare for a farther advance during the following year, and to permit those in the rear to catch up with them if possible.

Then began an interval of suffering and trouble that involved the entire host in greater or less degree, its effects extending from Nauvoo to the farthest westward outposts. And, unfortunately, the most connected and detailed contemporary narrative of subsequent events relating to the pilgrimage has been injured—with respect to its value as a dependable source of information—by the later attitude of the man who wrote it.

War with Mexico began while the Mormons were passing through Iowa. The Federal government, desirous of adding to its army, and knowing that Nauvoo had contained a large body of well-trained militia called the Nauvoo Legion, sent a representative to overtake the Saints and discover whether a battalion might not be ob-

tained by means of volunteer Mormon enlistments.[1] He was accompanied by an American named Thomas Kane, brother to the Arctic explorer Elisha Kane, and a man of travel experience, education and ability. Kane paused to inspect deserted Nauvoo, caught up with the main body of exiles at the Missouri, took a decided liking to them, was admired by them in return, remained with them during their tribulations in the winter of 1846-7, and accompanied them on their farther westward advance. After his return to the East he appeared before the Pennsylvania Historical Society on March 26, 1850, and delivered an address descriptive of the Mormon migration, of which he himself had been a part.[2] Kane's narrative was the first definite and extensive statement on the subject to be obtained by the East; it was approved or left substantially uncontradicted by non-Mormon investigators able to estimate its accuracy during the years immediately following—in so far as it dealt with the events of the migration—and has since, of necessity, remained an important source for inquirers into the subject. Among those who later commented on Kane's story, after opportunity to estimate its value, was Lieutenant Gunnison, of the United States Army, who in 1852 spoke of its author as

"Their [the Mormons'] great and eloquent defender, whose historical oration on these dark periods of their fortunes does equal honor to his charitable heart and intelligence—a sketch, however, of the epic kind, replete with poetical ornament and fervor."[3]

In after years, and especially during the serious clashes of authority which occurred between the Federal government and the Latter Day Saints in the administrations of

[1] The "Mormon Battalion" of the Mexican War was so obtained.
[2] Kane's address was immediately published under the title "The Mormons," and constitutes an octavo pamphlet of 84 pages.
[3] In "The Mormons, etc.," p. 133. Gunnison's history was published in 1852, after its author had spent a year or more amid the people and scenes he discusses.

Presidents Fillmore and Buchanan, Kane performed political services in behalf of the Mormons whose nature can scarcely be reconciled with any reasonable hypothesis save that he was, at those times, a secret Mormon agent.[1] To what extent—if at all—he occupied a similar position when he delivered his address before the learned society of Pennsylvania is not now known. He apparently did try to create or to strengthen an impression that the indefensible attacks of which the Saints were victims had their origin in prejudice based on religious grounds, and he also assuredly strove to portray their fortitude and other good qualities in a manner well designed to win the public sympathy. Yet the last named endeavor was superfluous, because the undertaking that had been carried to success by the inhabitants of Nauvoo could not be recognized as other than a remarkable feat performed by a determined, courageous people.

So much must necessarily be said of Kane and his narrative if—as is designed—use is to be made of the recital. And it may be further suggested that those parts of his story relating to experiences of travel do not fall so readily under the suspicion of undue bias as those other sections more concerned with human motives and purposes. What he saw at Nauvoo, in Iowa, and beyond, was also seen by so many others that it was scarcely safe for him, even if he had wished, unduly to distort the truth regarding those matters. His account of the march itself is inherently credible; is corroborated in substance by various other early sources of information;[2] and, had Kane not afterward occupied the position he did in Mormon

[1] A review of Kane's activities during the periods mentioned may be found in Linn's "The Story of the Mormons."

[2] Lieutenant Gunnison; Illinois and Iowa contemporary newspapers; the diaries and statements of others who made the journey; the reports made to Governor Ford, of Illinois, by his representative, Brayman, published in the Warsaw (Illinois) "Signal" of December 24, 1845; Ferris's "Utah and the Mormons."

369.—When a caravan moved with tents, but without wagons, the tent poles were commonly dragged as here shown. Light baggage or tent canvas could then be lashed to the poles. This procedure was adopted from the Indians, who shifted their tépee villages in the manner described. The cone-shaped hill is Huerfano Butte, in New Mexico, about 650 miles from the Missouri border.

affairs it is doubtful if his story would have been seriously questioned.

Despite the continued evacuation of Nauvoo throughout the spring and summer of 1846, which process at last left only some seven hundred poverty-stricken inhabitants within its limits, the surrounding anti-Mormon population was dissatisfied with the slowness of the movement and early in the autumn attacked the town in force, assaulting it with musketry and a cannon. As a result of that affair the remaining Mormons, although unprepared, agreed to remove at once. So, "in the midst of the sickly season they were hurried in the boats and thrown upon the Iowa shore, without shelter or provisions; in consequence whereof, great numbers of them miserably perished."[1] Nauvoo was empty of Mormons at last.

It was at this time that Kane appeared on the scene, and his first view of the town was afterward thus described:

"I was descending the last hillside upon my journey, when a landscape in delightful contrast broke upon my view. Half encircled by a bend of the river, a beautiful city lay glittering in the fresh morning sun; its bright new dwellings, set in cool, green gardens, ranging up around a stately dome-shaped hill, which was crowned by a noble marble edifice whose tapering spire was radiant with white and gold. The city appeared to cover several miles; beyond it, in the background, there rolled off a fair country, chequered by the careful lines of fruitful husbandry. Unmistakable marks of industry, enterprise and educated wealth, everywhere, made the scene one of singular and most striking beauty.

"It was a natural impulse to visit this inviting region. I procured a skiff, and, rowing across the river, landed at the chief wharf of the city. No one met me there. I looked, and saw no one. I could hear no one move; though the quiet everywhere was such that I heard the flies buzz and the water-ripples break against the shallow of the beach. I walked through the solitary streets. The town lay as in a dream, under some deadening spell of loneliness from which I almost feared to wake it. For plainly it had not slept long. There was no grass

[1] Gerhard's "Illinois as It Is," p. 122.

growing up in the paved ways. Rains had not entirely washed away the prints of dusty footsteps.

"Yet I went about unchecked. I went into empty workshops, ropewalks and smithies. The spinner's wheel was idle; the carpenter had gone from his workbench and shavings, his unfinished sash and casing. . . . The blacksmith's shop was cold; but his coal heap and ladling pool and crooked water-horn were all there, as if he had just gone off for a holiday. . . I could have supposed the people hidden in the houses, but the doors were unfastened; and when at last I timidly entered them I found dead ashes white upon the hearth, and had to tread a tiptoe as if walking down the aisle of a country church, to avoid rousing irreverent echoes from the naked floors. . . Fields upon fields of heavy-headed, yellow grain lay rotting ungathered upon the ground. No one was at hand to take in their rich harvest. As far as the eye could reach they stretched away—they sleeping, too, in the hazy air of autumn."[1]

After having explored the city, and talked concerning recent events with an armed party of the anti-Mormons encountered by him, Kane retreated across the Mississippi and discovered the lately evicted rear-guard of the town's inhabitants. Of them he said:

"Here, among the dock and rushes, sheltered only by the darkness, without roof between them and the sky, I came upon a crowd of several hundred human creatures, whom my movements roused from uneasy slumber upon the ground.

"Passing these on my way to the light, I found it came from a tallow candle in a paper-funnel shade, such as is used by street venders of apples and peanuts, and which, flaring and guttering away in the bleak air off the water, shown flickeringly on the emaciated features of a man in the last stage of a bilious remittent fever.

"They had done their best for him. Over his head was something like a tent, made of a sheet or two, and he rested on a but partially ripped-open old straw mattress, with a hair sofa-cushion under his head for a pillow. His gaping jaw and glazing eye told how short a time he would monopolize these luxuries; though a seemingly bewildered and excited person, who might have been his wife, seemed to find hope in occasionally forcing him to swallow awkwardly measured sips of the tepid river water from a burned and battered, bitter-smelling tin coffeepot. Those who knew better had furnished the apothecary he needed—a toothless old bald-head, whose manner had the repulsive dullness of a familiar with death scenes. He, so long as I remained, mumbled in his patient's ear a monotonous and melancholy prayer, between

[1] Kane's "The Mormons."

the pauses of which I heard the hiccup and sobbing of two little girls who were sitting on a piece of driftwood outside. . .

"Cowed and cramped by cold and sunburn, alternating as each weary day and night dragged on, they were, almost all of them, the crippled victims of disease. They were there because they had no homes, nor hospital, nor poorhouse, nor friends to offer them any. They could not satisfy the feeble cravings of their sick: they had not bread to quiet the fractious hunger cries of their children. Mothers and babes, daughters and grandparents, all of them alike, were bivouacked in tatters, wanting even covering to comfort those whom the sick shiver of fever was searching to the marrow."

This final group of refugees, which had crossed the river on September 18, included all the infirm of the city whom it had previously been considered unwise to move. While its members lay on the western bank of the river their situation was deplorable, and their principal article of food was ground corn, adulterated with the bark of trees similarly treated. But tidings of their plight had been hurried westward to the main column, and in October they were rescued by a relief train of wagons sent back for that purpose and conveyed to the log-cabin camps ahead. Kane's description of such a settlement reads:

"A square was marked out; and the wagons as they arrived took their positions along its four sides in double rows, so as to leave a roomy street or passageway between them. The tents were disposed also in rows, at intervals between the wagons. The cattle were folded in high-fenced yards outside. The quadrangle inside was left vacant for the sake of ventilation, and the streets, covered in with leafy arbor work and kept scrupulously clean, formed a shaded cloister walk. This was a place of exercise for slowly recovering invalids, the day-home of the infants, and the evening promenade of all.

"From the first formation of the camp, all its inhabitants were constantly and laboriously occupied. Many of them were highly educated mechanics, and seemed only to need a day's anticipated rest to engage them at the forge, loom, or turning-lathe, upon some needed chore of work. . . I have seen a cobbler, after the halt of his party on the march, hunting along the river bank for a lap-stone, in the twilight, that he might finish a famous boot-sole by the campfire; and I have had a

370.—Prairie schooners halted near Red River. The wagons of the South, and those regularly engaged in the traffic of the Santa Fé trail, were larger and heavier than most of those which started to California from northern states during the gold rush. In some localities there had been a reduction in the size of the old Conestoga type.

piece of cloth the wool of which was sheared, and dyed, and spun, and woven during a progress of over three hundred miles.[1] . . .

"Inside the camp the chief labors were assigned to the women. From the moment when, after the halt, the lines had been laid, the spring wells dug out, and the ovens and fireplaces built, though the men still assumed to set the guards and enforce the regulations of police, the Empire of the Tented Town was with the better sex. . . And they were a nation of wonderful managers. They could hardly be called housewives in etymological strictness, but it was plain that they had once been such, and most distinguished ones. Their art availed them in their changed affairs. With almost their entire culinary material limited to the milk of their cows, some store of meal or flour, and a very few condiments, they brought their thousand and one receipts into play with a success that outdid for their families the miracle of the Hebrew widow's cruse. They learned to make butter on the march, by the dashing of the wagon, and so nicely to calculate the working of barm in the jolting heats that as soon after the halt as an oven could be dug in the hillside and heated, their well-kneaded loaf was ready for baking, and produced good leavened bread for supper."[2]

One other feature of the march through Iowa, as mentioned by Kane, deserves repetition. He thus referred to the frequent burials on the prairie:

"The general hopefulness of human—including Mormon—nature, was well illustrated by the fact that the most provident were found unfurnished with undertaker's articles; so that bereaved affection was driven to the most melancholy makeshifts.

"The best expedient generally was to cut down a log of some eight or nine feet long, and, slitting it longitudinally, strip off its dark bark in two half cylinders. These, placed around the body of the deceased and bound firmly together with withes made of the alburnum, formed a rough sort of tubular coffin, which surviving relatives and friends, with a little show of black crape, could follow with its enclosure to the hole or bit of ditch dug to receive it in the wet ground of the prairie. They grieved to lower it down so poorly clad, and in such an unheeded grave. It was hard—was it right—thus hurriedly to plunge it in one of the undistinguishable waves of the great land sea, and leave it behind them there, in the cold north rain, abandoned, to be forgotten? . . . So, when they had filled up the grave, and over it played the Miserere prayer, and tried to sing a hopeful psalm, their last office was to seek out landmarks, or call in the surveyor to help them determine the bearings of valley bends, headlands, or forks and angles of constant streams,

[1] Kane, pp. 35-36.
[2] Kane, pp. 45-46.

by which its position should in the future be remembered and recognized."[1]

The major part of the suffering endured by the Mormons befell them in their camps on the Missouri River bottom lands, near Council Bluffs, during the autumn of 1846 and the ensuing winter. There a majority of the moving host slowly assembled in August and September, and since all realized the impossibility of penetrating the mountain region while it was in the clutch of ice and snow, and while they were without adequate food, they made ready as best they might to wait until the following spring. A trading post of the American Fur Company was near by, and on the Iowa side of the river was a large settlement of Potawatomi Indians who had been placed there by the government a few years before. The western bank of the Missouri[2] was similarly occupied by the Omahas. Both tribes of red men received the unexpected concourse of white pilgrims in friendly spirit, and met the Mormon leaders in formal councils to arrange the relations that should exist between the two races while the travellers from the East remained in that vicinity. Big Elk, chief of the Omahas, announced that the Mormons might use what Indian timber they needed for their huts and fuel, and offered his men as guards for the herds of live stock. The whites, in return, agreed to aid the Omahas with their teams.

Pied Riche, the principal chief of the Potawatomi, made the following address at the meeting between his nation and the Saints:

"The Pottawatamie came, sad and tired, into this unhealthy Missouri Bottom not many years back, when he was taken from his beautiful country beyond the Mississippi, which had abundant game and timber

[1] Kane, pp. 13-14.
[2] In the neighborhood of the present town of Florence, Nebraska.

371.—A caravan from Missouri on the Santa Fé trail, arriving in sight of the town from which the road took its name. The successful ending of an overland trip excited much boisterous enthusiasm.

and clear water everywhere. Now you are driven away the same, from your lodges and lands there, and the graves of your people. So we have both suffered. We must help one another, and the Great Spirit will help us both. You are now free to cut and use all the wood you may wish. You can make all your improvements, and live on any part of our actual land not occupied by us. Because one suffers, and does not deserve it, is no reason he shall suffer always: I say. We may live to see all right yet. However, if we do not our children will."[1]

It was a singular situation. There lay two tribes; one red, one white, both despoiled and driven from their homes into the wilderness. There they met and mingled for a time; the white men and women, to the number of thousands, becoming guests of the red people and the beneficiaries of their bounty. The Potawatomi showed no trace of the rancor which might without unreason have been exhibited by them toward members of a race which

[1] Kane, p. 59. The attitude of the natives is also established by other means than Kane's narrative.

had treated them so ill. But they too knew what trouble was, and the principles of their philosophy did not permit them to refuse help to a homeless man who needed help, even though he wore an alien skin. So by the machinations of the fates it happened that the Caucasian occupation of the West, and the later resultant extension of Federal power amid the last territorial possessions of the American natives were materially aided through wholesale charity bestowed on wandering white men by their red adversaries. History—that sardonic old hen—had hatched another egg.

The conditions under which the main company of Mormons were compelled to live in the Missouri bottoms from August of 1846 to July of 1847 brought distress and illness upon them. Many had already been weakened by hardship and insufficient food throughout a period of several months, for the transition from their orderly life and abundance in Nauvoo to the status of under-fed nomads was an abrupt one. Malaria spread; the illnesses due to breaking virgin soil appeared; and symptoms similar to those of scurvy, caused no doubt by lack of a sufficient variety of food—there being little vegetable provender at hand—likewise developed. The people also were poorly sheltered. Log cabins were the best dwellings obtainable, and thousands of the multitude were compelled to live—or tried to live—in tents or shelters made of sod, or of tree branches and plastered mud. Some even dug holes in the hillsides and for a time existed in caves of their own making. The principal diet of many was cornmeal.

An unknown number died, both along the banks of the Missouri and back in the camps scattered through Iowa. Even those who did not succumb were weakened and re-

duced. Kane thus described the situation of the people during this worst phase of their experience:

"The Mormons were scourged severely. The exceeding mortality among some of them was no doubt in the main attributable to the low state to which their systems had been brought by long-continued endurance of want and hardship. . . They let their cows go unmilked. They wanted for voices to raise the Psalm of Sundays. The few who were able to keep their feet went about among the tents and wagons with food and water, like nurses through the wards of an infirmary. Here at one time the digging got behind hand: burials were slow; and you might see women sit in the open tents keeping the flies off their dead children. . . I recollect overhearing a lamentation over some dear baby, that its mother no doubt thought the destroying angel should have been specially instructed to spare. I wish, too, for my own sake, I could forget how imperfectly one day I mourned the decease of a poor saint, who by clamor rendered his vicinity troublesome. He no doubt endured great pain, for he groaned shockingly until death came to his relief. He interfered with my own hard-gained slumbers,[1] and—I was glad when death did relieve him. . . I happen to recall, as I write, that I had some knowledge somewhere of one of our new-comers for whom the nightmare revived and repeated, without intermission, the torment of his trying journey. As he lay, feeding life with long-drawn breaths, he muttered: 'Where's next water? Team—give out! Hot, hot—God, it's hot; stop the wagon—stop the wagon—stop the wagon!' . . . In a half-dreamy way I remember, or I think I remember, a crowd of phantoms like these."[2]

One of the most ornate and comfortable dwellings characterizing this gloomy epoch of the hegira was that of Lorenzo Snow, a prominent figure in the church. As described by him[3] it was a log affair about thirty feet long and fifteen feet wide, with a roof of logs covered with dirt. The floor consisted of the earth, on which straw was scattered. Sheets covered the inner walls. The chimney was of sod. The lamps were hollow turnips, filled with oil or grease, from which protruded wicks. Yet in such habitations as these, or in the tents, brush shelters, wagons, sod hovels or caves, those who were able

[1] Kane himself being at that time in the grip of the disease for a month. It was before the winter set in.
[2] Kane, pp. 50-52.
[3] In his "Biography."

372.—A small government steamboat of the Colorado Exploring Expedition in Mohave Cañon. From a sketch by H. B. Mollhausen.

gathered in social conclave while not ministering to the sick or burying the dead, and cheered their own spirits by songs, simple games, stories, jokes or religious services.

So the weary winter passed, and eventually, in April of 1847, welcome activity came once more. A pioneer corps of one hundred and forty-three picked men, taking with them seventy-three wagons and a little field-piece on wheels, was sent out in advance to choose a farther route for the main body and to discover, if possible, a new home. The daily routine of this advance guard was simple. Its members were awakened by bugle at five o'clock. They prayed, ate, and were under way by seven. They marched all day, ate when they could no longer march, prayed again at half-past eight and were asleep by nine, in wagons drawn up in a circle with the live stock inside and guards on duty.

At Grand Island, on the Platte River, they halted briefly to consider whether they should adhere to the trail on the south side of the river used by Oregon emigrants, or, as a matter of pride, blaze a new path along the north bank of that stream. Pioneer pride won the debate, and the new road, so created, came to be known as the "Mormon Trail."[1] Poor forage was found, and the draught animals were kept going by feeding them part of the corn and wheat intended for the men. Guide posts were set up at intervals of ten miles, and written messages for the guidance of the ones to follow were fastened to them. On June 15 they met a party of ten white men and from them learned "that the Utah country was beautiful."[2] South Pass was reached on June 26, and Green River was crossed by rafts on June 30. At that time many of the party were

[1] Afterward followed by the Union Pacific Railway.
[2] From a Ms. "History of Brigham Young." Quoted by H. H. Bancroft in "History of Utah," p. 257.

ill with fever, and had been without bread for six weeks. Thence they pushed on through the rough country until July 14, when forty-four men, with 23 wagons, hurried still faster ahead. On July 19, after very hard work in making a road through a cañon, two of the party ascended a hill and from it looked down—somewhat as the searchers for Kentucke had done about three-quarters of a century before—into a promised land. They beheld the valley of the Great Salt Lake. One of the two men was Erastus Snow, and in after years[1] he described the moment in these words:

"The thicket down the narrows, at the mouth of the cañon, was so dense that one could not penetrate through it. I crawled for some distance on my hands and knees through this thicket, until I was compelled to return, admonished to by the rattle of a snake which lay coiled up under my nose, having almost put my hand on him; but as he gave me the friendly warning, I thanked him, and retreated. We raised on to a high point south of the narrows, where we got a view of the Great Salt Lake and this valley, and each of us, without saying a word to the other, instinctively, as if by inspiration, raised our hats from our heads, and then, swinging our hats, shouted. . . We could see the canes down in the valley, on what is now called Mill Creek, which looked like inviting grain, and thitherward we directed our course."

Next day they were sowing seed.

In the meantime a large body of the Saints, in obedience to instructions, had started from the Missouri on July 4 without waiting to learn the result of the pioneers' explorations. It was composed of about one thousand five hundred souls, with hundreds of wagons and a considerable amount of farm stock, and gained the Salt Lake valley late in September. The leaders of the migration, having found a new home, returned with the news to the camp on the Missouri, reaching there on the last day of October. The winter of 1847-8 was passed by the Mormons on the Missouri with much less hardship than

[1] In his "Address to the Pioneers," 1880.

had distinguished the first cold season and in June of 1848 another extensive company set forth for Utah, arriving in September. Two years and a half had elapsed since the pilgrimage began in March of 1846. By the year 1853 the former population of Nauvoo—or that part of it still living—was virtually reassembled in the Utah valley.

No sooner had the 1848 company attained its destination than its members, and the other Mormons already in Salt Lake City, heard of the discovery of gold in California. When that strange news came the head men of the Church of Latter Day Saints issued the following proclamation:

"The true use of gold is for paving streets, covering houses, and making culinary dishes; and, when the Saints shall have preached the gospel, raised grain, and built up cities enough, the Lord will open up the way for a supply of gold to the perfect satisfaction of His People. Until then, let them not be over-anxious, for the treasures of the earth are in the Lord's storehouse, and He will open the doors thereof when and where He pleases."

So the Mormons remained at home to raise grain and build up cities. In his Philadelphia lecture of 1850 Kane said of them, in conclusion:

"They mean to seek no other resting-place. . . They have at last come to their Promised Land, and, 'behold, it is a good land and large, and flowing with milk and honey': and here again for them, as at Nauvoo, the forge smokes and the anvil rings, and whirring wheels go round; again has returned the merry sport of childhood, and the evening quiet of old age, and again dear house-pet flowers bloom in garden plots round happy homes.

"It is these homes, in the heart of our American Alps . . . that hold out their welcome to the passing traveller. Some of you have probably seen in the St. Louis papers the repeated votes of thanks to them of companies of emigrants to California. These are often reduced to great straits after passing Fort Laramie, and turn aside to seek the Salt Lake Colony in pitiable plights of fatigue and destitution. The road, after leaving the Oregon trace, is one of increasing difficulty,[1] and when the last mountain has been crossed, passes along the bottom

[1] An interesting description of this part of the overland road will be found in extracts from the diary constituting James Abbey's "California: A Trip Across the Plains in 1850," embraced in chapter LV.

of a deep cañon, whose scenery is of an almost terrific gloom. . . . At every turn the overhanging cliffs threaten to break down upon the little torrent river that has worn its way at their base. Indeed, the narrow ravine is so serrated by this stream that the road crosses it from one side to the other, something like forty times in the last five miles. At the end of the ravine the emigrant comes abruptly out of the dark pass into the lighted valley on an even bench or terrace of its upper tableland. No wonder if he loses his self-control here. A ravishing panoramic landscape opens out before him, blue, and green, and gold, and pearl; a great sea with hilly islands, rivers, a lake, and broad sheets of grassy plain, all set as in a silver-chased cup, within mountains whose peaks of perpetual snow are burnished by a dazzling sun. It is less these, however, than the foreground of old-country farms, with their stacks and thatchings and stock, and the central city, smoking from its chimneys and swarming with working inhabitants, that tries the men of fatigue-broken nerves. The 'Californeys' scream; they sing; they give three cheers and do not count them; a few have prayed; more swear; some fall on their faces and cry outright." [1]

Thus ended, in a success greater than could reasonably have been anticipated, the Mormon migration. Though the Mormons of Utah, as Kane said in 1850, did for a time greet other overland travellers with hospitality, there came a day when they threatened to close the region and trails controlled by them to all such transcontinental movement. And the deplorable crime of the Mountain Meadow, of which overland travellers were the victims, took its place beside Gnadenhutten and other equal cruelties of eastern commonwealths in the category of acts for which Americans of these days can make no reparation. Yet, after all, no nation however splendid has been free of such wrongdoing. The process of eradicating cruelty from ourselves has been a long one, and still goes on. If it is sometimes necessary, in looking backward, to dwell for a moment on things we would rather forget, there is recompense in the discovery that we are progressing.

[1] Kane, pp. 75-76.

CHAPTER LIV

THE CRY OF "GOLD"— ITS EFFECT — CONDITIONS IN CALIFORNIA DURING 1846 — THE LAST GREAT RUSH OF THE PEOPLE BEGINS — DARK SIDE OF OVERLAND TRAVEL ILLUSTRATED BY THE ADVENTURES OF THE DONNER PARTY — IT IS TRAPPED IN THE MOUNTAINS BY SNOW — EFFORTS TO ESCAPE — MARCH OF THE "FIFTEEN"— HUMAN FLESH AS FOOD — LIFE IN THE BURIED CABINS — A CHRISTMAS FEAST — HALF THE EMIGRANTS ULTIMATELY RESCUED — THE INDIAN GUIDES

LATE in the summer of the year 1848 there spread through the country east of the Mississippi a strange and almost incredible tale from beyond the distant mountains that border the Pacific Ocean. It said gold had been found there; gold in quantities beyond computation.

As men listened to the first versions of the persistent story, a change came over them. A new restlessness began to pervade the whole population. The eyes of the people shifted from their every-day affairs and were directed toward the vast, forbidding territory that stretched for two thousand miles between them and the rumored El Dorado. They gazed toward the unknown expanse just as a runner concentrates his vision on a tremendous obstacle that must be leaped.

And such, indeed, it was. The successive surges of white pioneers had brought them at last to the farther

side of the Mississippi River, where many settlements were springing up. During a period of about two hundred and twenty years the white race had advanced, as a compact body, some fifteen hundred miles into the interior of the continent, always bringing with them a power that knew no backward turning. Missouri and Iowa had become the frontier. But at that point the Caucasians had apparently paused, save for the comparatively small movements along the Missouri and toward Oregon and Utah. The bulwark of natives which lay just ahead of them, and popular ideas concerning the nature of the country extending to the Rocky Mountains and beyond, were acting somewhat as a brake to farther advance in bulk. A driblet of caravans—such as the one whose experiences are about to be described—had, it is true, been departing toward California for the last two years, but those expeditions had not been inspired by influences which affected the whole population.

Nor—until the tale of gold wrought its overwhelming effect—was there much probability that the white men would, for several generations, make serious inroads on the immense country between their western outposts and the shores of the Pacific. According to general opinion the distances to be overcome were too great, the lands of the plains were sterile in comparison with those of the East, and the endless tumult of mountains was a barrier impossible of profitable conquest.

Those beliefs and the orderly and reasonable processes of mankind, as such processes appeared to be unfolding in America, were swept away by one word within the space of a few weeks. "Gold!" came the cry. In it was contained the essence of all things craved, and mountains crumbled away. Though the distance and hardships

still remained, they were seen but dimly. In one sense the west-bound emigrants moved as in a trance. To them the difficulties of the pilgrimage were phantasmagoria. Nothing was real but the mythical land that lay at the end of their wandering.

The newspapers published during the last half of the year 1848 reflect a curious state of widespread emotional excitement. They printed all obtainable stories of the extraordinary mineral discovery, and at the same time apparently strove to allay the furore they created. Many periodicals made efforts to simulate calmness and sobriety, and some belittled the news even after its substantial accuracy had been established. One eastern paper[1] quoted the words of the San Francisco alcalde, who had said: "The streams are paved with gold—the mountains swell in their golden girdle—it sparkles in the sands of the valley—it glitters in the coronets of the steep cliffs." And then the editor commented on the utterance as follows: "The author may have thought there was poetry in this, but he knew, as well as we do, that there was no truth in it." Finally, to cap the climax, the editor said there might be some truth in it, after all.

The nation believed, and so began a unique rush of thousands of miles undertaken by millions of Americans, which was possible only under the combination of conditions that brought it about. Those conditions were a goal of fabulous riches, the shock of its unexpected announcement, and a national hysteria affecting a nervous, restless people who had passed through eight successive generations of continuous pioneer exertion, conquest and excitement. The movement beginning on a large scale in 1849 was a final manifesta-

[1] The "Literary American," of New York; December 30, 1848.

THE

POCKET GUIDE TO CALIFORNIA;

A

SEA AND LAND ROUTE BOOK.

CONTAINING

A DESCRIPTION OF THE EL DORADO; ITS GEOGRAPHICAL POSITION; PEOPLE, CLIMATE, SOIL, PRODUCTIONS, AGRICULTURAL RESOURCES, COMMERCIAL ADVANTAGES, AND MINERAL WEALTH;

WITH

A CHAPTER ON GOLD FORMATIONS;

ALSO THE

CONGRESSIONAL MAP,

AND

THE VARIOUS ROUTES AND DISTANCES TO THE GOLD REGIONS.

TO WHICH IS ADDED THE

Gold-Hunter's Memorandum and Pocket Directory.

BY J. E. SHERWOOD.

"Westward the course of Empire takes its way."—BERKELEY.

NEW YORK:

J. E. SHERWOOD, PUBLISHER AND PROPRIETOR.

FOR SALE BY H. LONG & BROTHER, 46 ANN STREET; BERFORD & CO., ASTOR HOUSE; AND THE PRINCIPAL BOOKSELLERS THROUGHOUT THE UNION.

CALIFORNIA: BERFORD & CO., AND C. W. HOLDEN, SAN FRANCISCO.

1849.

373.—Title page of a guide book such as was bought by those who sought information regarding the overland journey to California in 1849.

tion of a quality that ran in the blood of the country. In the extent to which it affected the population; in the demeanor of the emigrants, their stolid frenzy, quiet stubbornness, and persistence in the face of obstacles avoided by normal men, the last westward march across the continent presented in some aspects the appearance of an action due to hypnotic influence. Nor was this phase of the phenomenon confined to the actions of those who made the journey. There was not a community, however small, which did not contribute to the multitude of departing adventurers, and it is very possible that every stay-at-home was united either by blood relationship or personal acquaintance to one or more of the west-bound army. Those who remained in the East were, as a consequence, affected by the movement to a degree no less intense—though in a different way—than the gold seekers themselves, and displayed their relation to it through an attitude equally pronounced. All eastern thought and action were for a time ruled by the new situation in the West, and a number of years elapsed before the public slowly returned to a normal attitude in harmony with altered conditions.

The efforts of the men and women who took part in the final rush to the Pacific coast, and their experiences while on the way, constitute a drama in keeping with the theater that witnessed it. If the stage designed for the spectacle was vast and elemental, so were the human emotions there exhibited. If the scenery amid which the theme progressed was at once gloomy, tremendous, inspiring, beautiful and foreboding, so also were the manqualities of the countless figures in the tragedy. For it was a tragedy, as all acts of the multitude always are when born in the frenzy of inflexible determination.

THE BROADWAY, ST. LOUIS.

374.—Scene in St. Louis during the migrations to California. Hundreds of canvas-covered wagons passed through the city every day. Some of them halted for a time, while their owners bought necessary provisions and equipment.

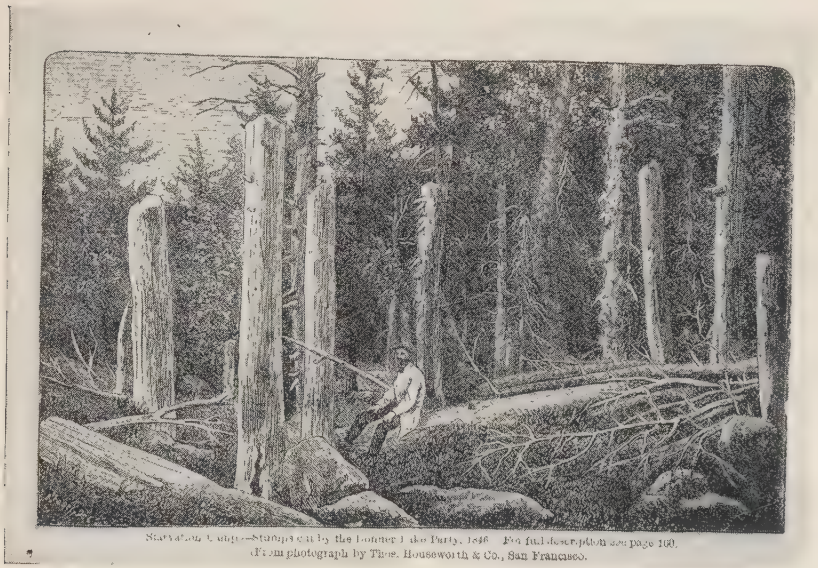
It so happens that the strangest events in the record of migrations from the Mississippi valley to California took place in 1846 and 1847, at the very outset of the movement and more than a year before gold was discovered. Those circumstances were embodied in the fate which overtook a wagon train of a hundred emigrants and resulted in the loss of forty-two of its members after trials seldom parallelled in the record of heroism and privation. The party was organized by George and Jacob Donner in Sangamon county, Illinois, and started from Springfield in April of 1846. It contained men, women and children from Ohio, Missouri, Iowa, Illinois and Tennessee.

But before turning to another phase of overland travel in a story of the Donner party's adventures it is desirable to summarize the conditions existing in California during the year of their occurrence.

In the spring of 1846 the population of California, exclusive of Indians, was about ten thousand, of whom some eight thousand were native Mexicans and the other two thousand foreigners, in part from the United States and lately arrived. Lieutenant-Colonel Frémont, of the United States Army Topographical Corps, was in the country at the head of a small exploring expedition. Frémont was at first received by the Mexican commander[1] of the territory in a friendly manner, but either because of the probability of war between the two countries or alarm over the number, character and demeanor of immigrants from the United States, the Mexican general suddenly changed his attitude and tried to expel all Americans from his military jurisdiction.

The undesired settlers united to resist expulsion, took

[1] General Castro.



Stumps cut by the Donner Lake Party, 1846. For full description see page 160.
From photograph by Thos. Houseworth & Co., San Francisco.

375.—Scene of the tragedy at Donner Lake in 1846-1847. The Donner party, while on the trip across the continent by wagon train, was trapped in the mountains by the winter storms. Hastily built cabins were soon covered by snow to the depth of 15 or 20 feet. When the men ascended from the buried huts to get firewood, and plied their axes at the lowest visible parts of the tree trunks, they left stumps as here indicated by a photograph taken in later years. Forty-two of the ninety died after weeks of starvation, and, in some cases, the eating of flesh from those who succumbed. The others were saved by relief expeditions sent from California.

forcible possession of the town of Sonoma, organized a convention there, and named William B. Ide as their leader. Ide, on June 18, issued a proclamation calling on the immigrants from the United States to rise and proclaim their own sovereignty. On July 4, 1846, the Americans issued a so-called declaration of independence at Sonoma, elected Frémont as Governor of the country, and unfurled a banner known as the Bear Flag.[1] Commodore Sloat, of the American navy, hoisted the United States national ensign over Monterey at about the same time, and immediately thereafter the settlers from the

[1] It was a white banner with a red border and a grizzly bear in the center of the field.

East, together with Frémont and his men, offered their services to Commodore Stockton—who had succeeded Sloat—and the irregular and independent proceedings of Sonoma were submerged in the more formal warfare with Mexico which followed. From that time California remained in control of American forces, and eventually passed under the political sway of the United States.[1]

While these events—unknown to the people of the East—were transpiring on the Pacific coast, the small drift to California was already beginning, and the decidedly larger and more important exodus to the Oregon country was in full swing.

The Donner party followed in the wake of the Oregon caravan of 1846, and some weeks behind it. Independence, Missouri, was reached in May, and the Donners were there joined by a few individual emigrants such as always attached their vehicles to a large expedition for the sake of more safety. From that town the jump-off or real overland journey began, and when the party finally left Independence for California its two hundred wagons and thousand head of live stock stretched in a line two miles long over the prairie. Each canvas-covered prairie schooner was drawn, according to its size and load, by two, three or four pairs of oxen, yoked two abreast in the usual way, or by mules.

Nothing that threatened disaster or differed radically from the experiences of numerous similar groups of emigrants took place during the first three months. There

[1] For an account of the first days of American control in California, together with a history of the Bear Flag Party, see:

"Biographical Sketch of the Life of William B. Ide," by Simeon Ide; "Scraps of California History Never Before Published," by Simeon Ide; "A Sketch of the Life of Com. Robert F. Stockton"; "Message from the President of the United States Transmitting Information on the Subject of California and New Mexico" (being Executive document No. 17 of the 31st Congress, 1st session; Jan. 21, 1850); and Frémont's reports.

Simeon Ide's two little books (practically two editions of the same work) both contain William Ide's letter to Senator Wambaugh, giving his version of the Bear Flag campaign.

CROSSING THE PLAINS.

376.—A migratory family crossing the plains. Drawn by the English artist, Thomas Armstrong, in 1851. Armstrong was in California at the time, and his sketch was printed in the Sacramento *Placer Times and Transcript* for January 1, 1852.

were the usual quarrels between individuals, and Indians stole some cattle and caused occasional petty annoyance. Perhaps the most significant feature marking the first half of the journey was the development of a tendency on the part of the travellers to split into clannish groups. This resulted, to some extent, in a breakdown of that spirit of unity and common dependence so valuable to a little community engaged in a pilgrimage like theirs, isolated in an unknown wilderness and dependent on their own exertions for a successful termination of the enterprise. But though a day was to come when the instant coöperation of all the members of the party might possibly have saved it, yet the tendency mentioned—one quite natural in the assemblage of a group made up of families from different localities and common to most such expeditions—was not a cause of the final catastrophe.

Things went fairly well until the party reached the neighborhood just east of Great Salt Lake, where the broken nature of the mountain system and the presentation of alternative routes for farther progress resulted in a division of the caravan. The lake had to be passed by a détour either to the north or to the south. Thirteen members of the party took the northern line of march, by a trail leading from Fort Bridger northwest toward Fort Hall, and thence southwestward again. They reached their journey's end in California without serious trouble. The other eighty-seven, with whose fate we have now to deal, chose to move on by a supposedly practical route around the south shore of the lake. This was called "Hasting's Cut-off," and was reported to be shorter by three hundred miles than the northern path. For some days the party continued through the rough country and then fell into difficulties. Either they got off the trail

377.—Conditions in California during the first years of the gold rush. Sutter's Fort. On Sutter's land, in 1848, gold was discovered by his associate, Marshall. From a sketch by the artist, G. V. Cooper.

—if, indeed, wagons had often passed that way before—or else had been misinformed. At any rate they found themselves in a position of exceeding difficulty. Sometimes they were compelled to lower their wagons bodily over precipices by means of ropes, and at other times had to use all the oxen of the caravan in pulling the prairie schooners, one at a time, over bad places that stalled them.

All this not only demanded extreme toil, but took up much time and depleted the emigrants' stock of provisions. Twenty-eight days were consumed in moving twenty-one miles. In those circumstances lay their danger. Every California-bound caravan shaped its speed and plans to make certain the passage of the dreaded Sierra Nevada Mountains before early winter set in on that rugged and difficult range. The summer was now almost gone, the Donner party was still far distant from the Sierras, and its provender was dwindling fast. By the end of October the snows would come on the mountains. Still the travellers pressed forward as best they could, and sent one of their number ahead for help. On October 19 he returned to the wagons again, accompanied by two Indians and driving five mules loaded with provisions furnished by Captain Sutter, whose estate lay in the Sacramento valley of California. From the 19th to the 23d the party remained in camp near the present site of Reno, Nevada, meanwhile sending two other men forward for additional food. Once more they resumed the march, and in the high altitudes near Prosser creek,[1] found six inches of snow. The weary animals attached to the wagons were urged on and upward at all possible speed, but it was too late. At the top of the mountains the

[1] About three miles from Truckee.

378.—Sacramento City as the town appeared in 1850.

marchers encountered from two to five feet of snow, and could go no farther. They were prisoners. The day was October 28.

Then was the time when agreement in council and common action in one supreme effort might have brought deliverance. The train had halted at Truckee Lake—called Donner Lake since the events here described—and was scattered over the neighborhood for several miles, each family or group living in or near its wagons. For several days the different sections of the caravan acted independently in various endeavors to proceed, but without success. Finally the uselessness of such isolated attempts was acknowledged, and all the emigrants were at last brought together for one determined struggle. Wagons were abandoned, since the folly of trying to move them through twenty or thirty miles of snow-covered mountains was obvious. A pack-train was formed, and in that shape the expedition started on its last march as an organized body. The effort failed. Men, women, children, oxen and mules floundered through the snow until the hopelessness of the action was plain,[1] and then gave it up and got back to the camps as best they could. On their return the people held a council in which it was decided to kill the animals, prepare their carcasses for food and try once more on foot.

This decision was never carried into effect. While they slept that night in their hastily built shelters a great snow came, and all knew what it meant. Most of the oxen and mules were covered up and never found. As soon as the downfall was ended some of the men cut poles and probed in the drifts for the buried animals, by which

[1] They got as far as the precipice where the tracks of the Central Pacific Railway now meet the wagon road.

379.—Wagons and emigrants moving across the country from Sacramento to the gold-bearing streams. On arrival there they became miners. From a sketch by Cooper.

method a few of the frozen beasts were fortunately discovered. Other men set about the building of log cabins and the collection of wood for fuel. Storm followed storm; the little cabins were soon hidden from sight; and in a short time the emigrants were living beneath the snow. There was no outward sign of a human habitation in the dreary waste save an occasional hole, and icy steps that led downward.

On days when the weather permitted them to do so the men came up from below, chopped down trees, cut them into pieces and dropped them into the cabins for firewood. They could only hew off such parts of the trunks as projected above the snow. When the scene was visited in after days, and measurements taken, it was found that many of the stumps thus left standing were from fifteen to twenty-two feet high. Under a sky-avalanche of that depth the members of the slowly lessening band fought for existence. Sometimes they visited one another. The meat obtained from frozen animals found by probing in the drifts lasted about six weeks. After that the people boiled ox hides into a sort of paste and lived on it. Their drink was melted snow. When the ox hides were gone they boiled the bones. There were many children—some very young—in the party.

One of the emigrants kept a record of these and other things, and some of the circumstances he wrote down may be included in this narrative. Others may not be. Here are occasional entries from the diary of Patrick Breen:[1]

Dec. 17. Pleasant; William Murphy returned from the mountain party last evening; Baylis Williams died night before last; Milton and Noah started for Donner's eight days ago; not returned yet; think they are lost in the snow.

[1] His diary was published in full in the "Nashville Whig" of September 4, 1847.

Dec. 20. Clear and pleasant. Mrs. Reed here; no account from Milton yet. Charles Burger started for Donner's; turned back; unable to proceed; tough times, but not discouraged. Our hope is in God. Amen.

Dec. 21. Milton got back last night from Donner's camp. Sad news; Jacob Donner, Samuel Shoemaker, Rhinehart, and Smith are dead; the rest of them in a low situation; snowed all night, with a strong southwest wind.

Dec. 25. Began to snow yesterday, snowed all night, and snows yet rapidly; extremely difficult to find wood; uttered our prayers to God this Christmas morning; the prospect is appalling, but we trust in Him.

Jan. 1, 1847. . . . Dug up a hide from under the snow yesterday; have not commenced on it yet.

Jan. 15. Clear again to-day. Mrs. Murphy blind, Landrum not able to get wood; has but one axe between him and Keseberg. It looks like another storm. . . .

Jan. 17. Eliza Williams came here this morning; Landrum crazy last night; provisions scarce; hides our main subsistence. May the Almighty send us help.

Feb. 8. Fine, clear morning. Spitzer died last night, and we will bury him in the snow; Mrs. Eddy died on the night of the seventh.

Feb. 15. Morning cloudy until nine o'clock, then cleared off warm. Mrs. . . . refused to give Mrs. . . . any hides. Put Sutter's pack hides in her shanty, and would not let her have them.

Feb. 26. Hungry times in camp; . . . Mrs. Murphy said here yesterday that she thought she would commence on Milton and eat him. I do not think she has done so yet; it is distressing.

In the meantime, and on November 12, an unsuccessful effort to get over the mountains for help had been made by a small group of the emigrants. They got back to the camp alive. During the following month it was seen that all must perish if aid did not reach them. Many had already succumbed. So, in the middle of December, another party started out. It was composed of ten men and five women, and its members decided either to carry news of the situation to those who could bring relief, or else die in the endeavor. They knew there was no chance for them if their plan was not successful, and saw they might as well meet the end in one spot as another. Those

who set out on December 16th to make their way through the mountains, over snow from ten to fifty feet deep, are known in western history as The Fifteen. Four miles were put behind them on the first day; six on the second; five on the third. The members of the Fifteen did not speak as they went forward. Some were made blind by the glare of the white wilderness, and these were led by the others. Such apology for food as the party had at starting was soon gone. It lasted for three days. At night they lay on the snow. The first to fall out of the group was a man who did not rise to his feet one morning when the others were ready to start. One of the women approached him and asked if he was coming. "Yes," he answered, "I am coming soon."

On the fourth day another of the men found in his clothing a fragment of frozen bear meat hidden there by his wife, wrapped in a scrap of paper on which were the words, "Your own dear Eleanor." She and her children at the camp were without food.

A storm began, and the little band sat down and waited. Somebody suggested that one of them die for the others, and they agreed. All drew lots—even the women. Patrick Dolan got the fatal slip, but the others could not decide who should kill him, so they rose up and staggered on. The snow turned to sleet. By great exertion they made fire, but it fell in and disappeared, and when they leaned over the hole through which it had fallen they heard, far below, the rush of a torrent. The storm became a tornado. At midnight the first one died —a man. Another, dying, pleaded with his wife, daughters and companions to eat him and thus save their own lives for the sake of those at the lake. Then he died. All lay down, covered themselves with their blankets, and

A MINER.

380.—At the mines. Realization of the hope that had sustained the pilgrims in their marches. Sketch of a miner by the English artist, Armstrong, printed by the *Placer Times and Transcript*, of Sacramento, on January 1, 1852.

were soon hidden by the falling snow. Dolan went crazy, escaped from shelter, was pursued, caught, fled again and again, was recaptured, and finally he died. Then morning came. It was Christmas Day. They had been away from the camp for nine days, without food for four days, and without fire for two and a half days. The matches were wet, but a woman took off one of her inner garments and by sparks from a flint they again got fire, roasted human flesh, ate it, and lived.

In this spot the party remained until December 29th. Those who survived divided into groups so that no family need eat its own dead. The heart of a boy was thrust through with a stick and broiled over the coals, and his sister beheld it. She endured it because she was fighting for her own life in order to save the lives of her own baby, mother, brothers and sisters back at the camp beside the lake. Unless she and the ones with her lived, those others and fifty more would die.

Accompanying the Fifteen, yet not included in its membership, were the two Indians who had come with the relief train from Sutter. They were the guides of the whites. No one else knew the country. The Indians would not eat. They went apart, built a fire of their own under a tree and sat there, not even watching. Finally the Fifteen—now become Eleven—ate their moccasins, and then the strings of their snow-shoes. Soon after this the Indians saw glances that made them fly in the darkness. For four days more the Eleven wandered, and then another died. His wife gave the body that the others might still keep up the fight.

On the morning of January 7, while stumbling ahead, the human skeletons found bloody tracks in the snow, and

after a time came again upon the Indians. The two red men, still living but unable to move, were lying where they had last fallen. With their eyes they followed the halting progress of those who approached them. There were Seven in the group—two men and five women. Slowly the whites went past, and then, in turn, staggered and fell.

One of the two white men had with him a wife who had saved his life by cutting flesh from a dead man's body and feeding it to him. She, in turn, was starving. Lying near by was another woman whose husband he had killed by accident months before. Three other figures on the snow were women who had left children at the lake. The white man got up, and went back toward the dying Indians. The others heard two shots.

By and by the Seven went on once more, and in a few days they found other tracks—tracks that led to a little Indian camp. They had won the fight. So frightful was the appearance of the survivors that the Indian children fled in terror, and the squaws wailed. The Indians fed them with all the food they themselves possessed, which was bread made from pounded acorns. For seven days more the red natives guided the little group, and then, even in sight of the Sacramento valley, the emigrants fell down again. They could go no farther. So the Indians, themselves weak, lifted one white man and carried him over the last fifteen miles that he might tell his story, and got him to a ranch. Thirty-two days had elapsed since the start from Donner Lake, forty miles away. The other six emigrants were brought in, a courier crossed the flooded Bear River on two logs to take the news to Sutter's Fort, and the organization of a relief expedition was instantly begun.

It is needless to recite some of the details at the camp during the march of the Fifteen. The glue made from hides gave out, and so did the bones of the animals. The children in one cabin cut up a piece of carpet, singed it in a fire and ate it. On Christmas Eve a few of the children got together in one of the buried cabins and told stories to one another of the Christmases of other days. They had a party, filling cups with snow that they sipped with spoons, pretending it was custard. They sang songs and played "hide-the-handkerchief."

One mother had saved a few beans and grains of rice, and had hid them, long before, for Christmas Day, together with a piece of bacon two inches square. Of these she made a thin soup, and when her children smelled the strange aroma they slowly rose, as in a dream, and crept toward the stove. Then their mother took the cover from the boiling pot and let them look. As a bean or grain of rice would pop up for an instant the children, watching, made inarticulate cries and clutched at one another.

At last those who still lived became too weak to chop down any more trees. Occasionally they climbed up from the huts to behold the daylight, and look about them. One evening—it was February 19, 1847—two women had thus ascended from one of the buried cabins. The daughter of one was dying. As they stood there they heard a distant shout—a sound that could not come from the lips of one who was starving. Others down below heard it also, for the cry carried far in the still air of the solitude, and soon there appeared at the tops of the tunnels a few faces over which the skin was very tightly drawn, and from which bright eyes peered strangely. Help had come at last. A small party, after tremendous effort, had reached the camp

A CALIFORNIA CABIN.

381.—Home of a party of California miners. But it is doubtful if firearms were kept so far out of reach, unless the one attached to the roof constituted a reserve.

from the Sacramento valley. When the rescuers were asked if the Fifteen were safe, they lied.

Four expeditions in all were sent by the settlers already in California to aid the wagon train trapped in the mountains, and by their help forty-five of the emigrants were finally saved. Twenty-three started over the mountains with the first relief party, which in turn was overwhelmed by a storm and almost succumbed. Had it not been met by the second expedition all its members, together with the men, women and children in its care must have perished. Some who went in charge of the first relief did die. Of these one was a man too weak to keep on, and who was left sitting beside a fire, smoking his pipe. He waved the

others a good-by as they started on again without him. He was a brave man, and more than that. For as he sat there, alone, his near approach to the inevitable gave him a strange, exalted power in his weakness, and he wrote a few lines that were found, long afterward, beside his frozen body. They read:

Ah, after many roving years
How swéet it is to come
Back to the dwelling place of youth,
Our first and dearest home;
To turn away our wearied eyes
From proud, ambitious towers
And wander in those summer fields,
The scene of boyhood's hours.

Ah, I am changed since last I gazed
Upon that tranquil scene,
And sat beneath the old witch-elm
That shades the village green,
And watched my boat upon the brook—
It was a regal galley—
And sighed not for a joy on earth
Beyond the happy valley.

So was a poet born, and lived for an hour, and died.

One Californian in the third relief, a man of herculean strength[1] took charge of seven of the starved emigrants, and often carried two of them on his back at once.

It has been seen that one of the leaders of the wagon train—Jacob Donner—perished at the camp in December. The fate of George Donner, and of George's wife, Tamsen,[2] remains to be told. As each rescue party reached the buried cabins a choice had to be hastily made regarding those who were to be carried out. In this way numerous families were divided. Parents sent their children to safety first, whenever possible. When the third group of

[1] John Stark. His father was a Virginia man who had made the trip through the wilderness to Kentucky in Boone's time. The son inherited his father's spirit and qualities.

[2] Tamsen Donner was a woman of exceptional qualities, abilities and education.

Californians had fought their way to the lake, about the middle of March, George Donner, as he himself knew, was slowly dying and could not be moved. The couple had two children. Donner told his wife to leave him and accompany them, since she also would face certain death if she remained. The hour came for the departure of the rescuers and those who were to go with them. Tamsen Donner took her children to the appointed spot. There she bade them good-by, turned, and started again toward the distant cabin where her husband lay. They watched her for a long time, but she never looked back. To do that was the one thing beyond her strength. Many days afterward, when the purpose for which she had remained had been fulfilled, Tamsen Donner started over the mountains,

382.—The Frémont Hotel in San Francisco. From a sketch by Frederick Kurz in 1851.

all alone and without any food. "I must see my children," she said. She went seven miles before lying down for the last time.

The story of the Donner party,[1] in its main details, shows but one aspect of an overland trip. It presents the extreme of hardship and suffering, both physical and mental. No other similar caravan, so far as known, had a like ordeal while trying to cross the western part of the country in the days when wagon trains were the reliance of the people during the long journey. That feature of its experience wherein it differs so woefully from all others —the eating of human flesh while in extremity—has given to the Donner expedition a separate place in the history of those days. The act in question has since been the basis of many discussions regarding the moral standard of the expedition's members. Every man can read the circumstances and decide the point for himself, though no man, by any exercise of the imagination, can put himself in the position of the Fifteen. Only one among those who were saved was ever looked upon with any aversion.[2] The Americans already in California—of all others best able to appreciate the facts—received the rescued emigrants with hospitality and delight, and did all for them that could be done.

These things happened in an attempt to cross America in 1846 and 1847. And yet, however freely we may concede to the white men and women a moral right to live under the conditions that surrounded them, by the only means they had, there persists a mental picture of the two

[1] For many years, and until quite recently, the history of this band of emigrants—and especially of certain phases of its suffering—have been distorted. A careful recital of the organization, adventures and fate of the expedition is available in "A History of the Donner Party," by C. F. McGlashan, Sacramento, 1877. McGlashan's work, based on statements of the remaining survivors, and on other authentic materials, tells the whole story. It is doubtless the most elaborate history of any individual overland expedition that has been prepared.

[2] And in that case perhaps unjustly. See McGlashan's "History."

Indian guides who went and sat under a tree. It is a strange circumstance that the white travellers who spanned the red man's continent at greater cost of suffering than any others, should have been guided at last by members of the vanquished race, and that they could only complete their journey through strength given to them by dead and living Indians.

CHAPTER LV

THE SUFFERING OF THE DONNER PARTY NOT TYPICAL OF CARAVAN TRAVEL TO CALIFORNIA — THE ROAD BECOMES CROWDED — A LATER NARRATIVE, SHOWING THE EXPERIENCES OF THE MARCHERS FROM 1849 ONWARD — DIARY OF JAMES ABBEY — HE AND HIS COMPANIONS CROSS THE CONTINENT IN FOUR MONTHS AND SIXTEEN DAYS — STAGE-COACHES APPEAR — THEY START ONCE A MONTH FROM INDEPENDENCE AND SALT LAKE CITY — ACTION OF CONGRESS IN 1857 — ITS RESULT — THE OVERLAND MAIL — FINAL CONDITIONS BEFORE THE COMING OF THE RAILWAY

NO such tribulations as those experienced by the Donner party could befall an overland caravan in 1849 or afterward. By that time every practicable path leading across the plains and over the mountains was thronged with human beings, horses, mules, cattle and wagons. The scenes along the way often resembled those incident to a road in the neighborhood of a large city. Sometimes hundreds of vehicles and thousands of animals were in view at one time and the procession of creaking wagons, foot-travellers and horsemen continued without interruption from dawn to nightfall. All strove to press ahead as swiftly as possible, yet all, when occasion required, were ready to lend aid to those in any sort of trivial embarrassment or serious trouble.

There were innumerable circumstances wherein help was needed, and it was always forthcoming. In truth, those in the rear who gave their aid to others in an emergency were also frequently helping themselves, for if the mishap befell at a ferry, or in a gorge, or on a steep hill or mountain, those behind were likewise halted until the blockade was relieved.

Nor were any of the moving throng permitted to want for food or any other attention so long as provender and sympathy were within reach.

Those canvas-covered wagons, and the camps at night, were the scenes of births, christenings, marriages, sickness and deaths. Almost every aspect of pioneer life came again into view during the long journey, and every day was a day of toil.

Any present-day description of the scenes attending the long overland march which was made by hundreds of thousands[1] between 1849 and 1868, must necessarily fall short of the reality, nor should it be attempted. No man who had not himself passed through the experience could adequately tell it. Generalities are not enough to bring us face to face with the significant details of which it was composed, and without which no vivid and truthful picture of it can be obtained. So, just as we turned to the journal of William Calk for an invaluable story of the Wilderness Road to Kentucke, we have need again for a similar narrative which may bring to us a real understanding of the tribulations of the march to California. There are a number of such records, and among them there is one that perhaps stands forth preëminent for its value to these pages. It was written day by day, and

[1] In addition there were probably a million or more whose destinations and future homes lay at points east of the Rocky Mountains.

383.—Two views of San Francisco. The topmost is engraved from a sketch done by the artist, J. C. Ward, in November of 1848. The other is the reproduction of a sketch made by Bayard Taylor a year afterward.

never suffered the later misfortune of being made into a pretentious book through the blighting process of re-writing. It was written in 1850, during the first surges of the human flood, when the road was choked with eager pilgrims. And finally, it was written by a buoyant, optimistic youth who gloated in work and who admitted he had found what he sought. Here begins the diary of James Abbey,[1] opulent in all those qualities for which, to-day, we often seek in vain. He departed from the town of New Albany, in Indiana, on April 3 of 1849, and left his jumping-off place on April 14th. Thence he proceeds:

April 14th.—After we had got all our cattle off the boat, and packed our goods in the wagon, we succeeded in getting over the river at St. Joseph last night, at 10 o'clock, in the Indian nation, where we camped on a dry sand bar.

April 18th.—The fatigues of a rainy night are over. I am seated again to note incidents as they pass. I endeavored to cook breakfast, but with wet wood and a horrid toothache I can assure you it is anything but a pleasant job. The boys are all seated round our camp-fire, patiently waiting for a hot cup of coffee. . . . Our camp consists of some 100 wagons. . . . After eating a hearty supper all hands volunteered and hauled up a big pile of logs for our camp-fire, around which all seated themselves to hear some music. Billy Reissinger was elected leader of the band. Our music consisted of cornet, ophicleide, trumpet, fiddle, guitar and a flute. They played "Home, Sweet Home" and "Life on the Ocean Wave."

April 21st.—Cold rainy day, with a hard wind. . . . I thought of home, my mother, sister and friends. Oh! how gloomy my thoughts ran.

April 26th. . . . All turned out by 4 o'clock and had breakfast, by five ready for a start. . . . We arrived at a small creek some eight miles from our morning's camp, when we found the banks steep and muddy, and where the ford had been filled up with brush to keep the cattle from sinking into the mud. . . . Duncan was the next to cross, so he drove into it and sunk into the mud up to his axles. There being about 80 wagons waiting to cross, all hands went to work to help

[1] "California. A Trip Across the Plains, in the Spring of 1850, Being a Daily Record of Incidents of the Trip Over the Plains, the Desert, and the Mountains, Sketches of the Country, Distances from Camp to Camp, etc., and containing Valuable Information to Emigrants, etc., etc." By James Abbey. New Albany, Ind.: 1850.

out, some digging, some bringing saplings, some prying, etc., and, with the aid of eight extra yoke of cattle, finally fetched him out. After mending the road we all got over safe and sound. . . . Killed eight big rattlesnakes. . . . Made 20 miles to-day.

April 27th.—. . . At 8 o'clock we passed eight or ten graves of last year's emigrants. . . .

April 30th.—. . . The day is cold and the wind is blowing so hard that it is almost impossible to stand up, but the boys say we are bound for California and it will never do to stop for wind, so we toddled on. Travelled to-day 15 miles over a good road.

May 4th.—We met two mule teams from Fort Laramie, who report no grass this side of the Platte, and the emigrants ahead of us had set fire to all of last year's growth. . . . While grazing our stock at noon I counted 200 horse teams, 80 mule teams, and 60 ox teams pass by here.

May 9th.—. . . The road this morning is very good. A train of horse teams is passing us, a mile or more in length.

May 13th.—Eleven o'clock passed by Fort Kearney. . . . It is said that three thousand two hundred wagons had passed the fort before us, and three hundred more are now in the vicinity. We are now surrounded by several large trains in full view . . . cooked our supper with dry grass.

May 16th.—. . . We find many articles strewed along the road, such as log chains, ox yokes, horse collars, cooking stoves, etc., which the emigrants have been compelled to throw away to lighten their wagons. . . . compelled, for want of wood, to cook our suppers with buffalo chips. Made 17 miles to-day.

May 17th.—We had a meeting to organize our companies and to elect a captain. Mr. R. R. Stevens, of Louisville, was duly elected. It is a fine selection. . . . Our train consists of seven wagons.

May 18th.—We travelled some ten miles, came to a spring of pure cold water, which to a thirsty and weary traveller in this region nothing can be more luxurious, after travelling all day under the burning hot sun, with throats parched with heat and dust.

May 19th.—. . . We are still blessed with good health, mammoth appetites and getting on as finely as we could desire. . . . After breakfast I took a stroll some four miles from our camp. . . . I had rambled some distance from the roadside and came to a new-made grave. It was some poor fellow, and from appearances had not been made long. The wolves had been trying to dig it up. . . .

May 20th.—We started very early this morning, and before the sun had risen had left some 300 wagons behind us. . . . While at dinner to-day I went out and counted about 120 wagons in a quarter of a mile square; they were principally horse teams.

OVERLAND TO TEXAS!

THE SAN ANTONIO AND SAN DIEGO MAIL LINE

Which has been in successful operation since July, 1856, are ticketing **PASSENGERS** through to San Antonio, Texas, and also to all intermediate Stations. Passengers and Express Matter forwarded in NEW COACHES, drawn by six mules over the entire length of our Line, excepting from San Diego to Fort Yuma, a distance of 180 miles, which we cross on mule back. Passengers GUARANTEED in their tickets to ride in Coaches, excepting the 180 miles, as above stated. Passengers are ticketed from San Diego to

FORT YUMA, EL PASO, MARICOPA WELLS,
FORT BLISS, TUCSON, FORT DAVIS,
LA MESILLA, FORT LANCASTER FORT FILLMORE,
FORT HUDSON and SAN ANTONIO.

The Coaches of our Line leave semi-monthly from each end, on the 9th and 20th of each month, at 6 o'clock, A. M.

An armed escort travels through the Indian country, with each Mail Train, for the protection of the Mails and Passengers.

Passengers are provided with Provisions during the trip, except where the Coach stops at Public Houses along the Line, at which each Passenger will pay for his own Meal. Each Passenger is allowed thirty pounds of Personal Baggage, exclusive of blankets and arms.

Passengers from San Francisco can take the C. S. N. Co.'s splendid

Steamer SENATOR, Capt. Tom Seeley,

which leaves San Francisco on the 3d and 18th of each Month, and connects with our Line.

Passengers going to San Antonio can take a Daily Line of Four-Horse Coaches to Indianola, from which place there is a Semi-Weekly Line of splendid Mail Steamers to New Orleans.

FARE on this Line as follows, including Rations:

San Diego to Fort Yuma...$40	San Diego to El Paso.....$125
" " Tucson..... 80	" " San Antonio. 200

Intermediate Stations beyond Fort Yuma, 15 cents per mile.

☞Passengers can obtain all necessary outfits in San Diego.

☞For further information, and for the purchase of Tickets, apply at the Office of the Company in this City, or to

H. VAN VALKENBURGH,
Corner Sacramento and Montgomery Sts.
(Freeman & Co.'s Express Office,)..... SAN FRANCISCO.

SAN DIEGO, Oct. 1, 1858. R. E. DOYLE, G. H. GIDDINGS. } PROPRIETORS.

384.—By stage-coach to California. Each passenger was allowed 30 pounds of baggage besides his blankets and firearms. A hundred and eighty miles of the stage-coach trip was performed on muleback. Armed escort with every vehicle. Ticket, $200.

May 23rd.—Saw to-day large droves of buffaloes on the opposite side of the river. . . . Not a cloud to be seen in the heavens, nor a shrub or tree on the plains over which we have travelled to-day.

May 24th.—. . . We travelled some three hours when we arrived at the head of Ash Hollow. We descended into it down a steep precipice, some seventy-five feet, where our wagons had to be let down with ropes.

May 29th.—. . . Our oxen as well as ourselves suffer much from the effects of buffalo gnats, which are very numerous in this country.

May 31st.—I was put on guard last night, from 12 till 4, and had orders by our captain to turn all hands out by 2 o'clock to make an early start. By 3 o'clock we were on our way rejoicing, and before the sun had risen we had left some 80 teams in our rear. . . . Passed many wagons abandoned and destroyed. To-day's travel, 22 miles. . . . You must excuse all errors, as I write seated upon a bucket, with a board on my knees, a candle in a lantern, with the wind blowing and extremely cold.

June 4th.—Two months from home, sweet home, and all safe in camp, in fine health and spirits. . . . After partaking of a hearty breakfast we take our station in an ox train some three miles in length. . . . Still in view of the snow-capped peak of Laramie, which looks within five miles of you, but is in reality fifty. . . . Cooking our supper with sage brush.

June 6th.—. . . At 7 we stopped for breakfast on the banks of the Platte, about twenty-five miles from the upper ferry, where we learn there are nine hundred wagons waiting to cross.

June 7th.—. . . At 10 a.m. we reached the ferry and found about two hundred wagons ahead of us. . . . We waited till evening before it came to our turn. . . . There are three boats constantly running, which take nothing but the wagons, leaving the animals to swim the river. The fare for ferrying a wagon is four dollars.

June 8th.—. . . . The soil and water of the country through which we are now travelling are impregnated with alkali, salt and sulphur, rendering water dangerous and unfit for use. I saw to-day sixteen skeletons of cattle that had died last year from drinking this alkaline water, all within two steps of one another.

June 11th.—Troubled all last night with the jaw ache and this morning find my face swollen as big as a peck measure, but still able to do duty at breakfast. . . . It is astonishing how ox teams can travel. Their feet have been very sore, but travelling in the hot sand has greatly improved them.

June 12th.—We were up and on our way by 5 o'clock. . . . At 10 we arrived at the second crossing of the Sweet Water River, and, finding it too high to ford, we took our provisions out of our wagon and stretching a rope across the river we ferried our things across in

a little less than no time. . . . After travelling about a mile up the bank of the river we came to another crossing, where we again had to ferry. Here we were compelled to carry all our things by hand a quarter of a mile over a cliff of rocks and through a pass barely large enough for one person to rub through. We took the running gears of our wagon all apart, and ferried them up the river on our bed [wagon bed] by means of a long rope stretching some distance up the river. . . . All of us pretty well tired out. . . . Travelled some five miles by moonlight to make up for lost time.

June 13th.—At 5 in the evening we came to the fifth crossing of Sweet Water, which we forded without difficulty, the water being up to our axles.

June 14th.—In a couple of hours we again struck the Sweet Water. . . . After having hitched up and travelling for about an hour we once more struck the Sweet Water, which seemed to haunt us as an evil genius. On leaving the river we travel over miserable, rough, rocky roads, very dangerous to wagons.

June 15th.—. . . We are now in about two miles of the summit of the dividing ridge between the waters of the Atlantic and Pacific oceans. It being a beautiful night, we concluded to go through the pass by moonlight.

June 17th.—Shoved out this morning at 5 o'clock, amid a violent snowstorm, travelled on till 10 o'clock, when we reached the forks of the two roads—the one to the right taking you to Sublete's Cutoff or Fort Hall, and that to the left to the Great Salt Lake. . . . We struck off on the Salt Lake road. From the appearance of the two roads, I should suppose that nine-tenths of the wagons had taken the Cutoff.

June 18th.—. . . The mirage has deceived us several times to-day. While worn with travel and thirsting for water, there might be seen, sometimes to the right, sometimes to the left, and then in front, representations of large rivers, lakes and streams of pure water; but as we would advance in the direction whence they would appear they would recede or fade away, leaving nothing to view but the barren desert.

June 21st.—The sun rose beautifully this morning, and we were off by 6 o'clock. An hour's journeying brought us to another tributary of Green River called Ham's fork, which we forded, the beds of our wagons having to be raised six inches on account of the depth of the water. We all got over safely, however.

June 22nd.—We travelled sixteen miles to-day under a broiling sun and over a dusty road without finding a drop of water for our cattle. . . .

June 23rd.—. . . For six hours we travelled over rough, rocky roads, and through narrow passes in the mountains, extremely dangerous for wagons.

June 24th.—. . . We reached Bear River and struck the ford

but finding the water too deep and rising fast we unpacked our wagons and ferried with the beds. . . . The water is clear and cold, and foaming and dashing over a bed of rough rocks, which makes it dangerous to the cattle in crossing. . . . The country through which we had been travelling the twenty-four hours before reaching Bear River presented a most woe-begone appearance. . . . To-day we only made 12 miles.

June 25th.—. . . Many persons are passing us on pack mules and horses. I have also seen a great number on foot with their packs on their backs. But in my opinion ox teams are the best. . . . Richey & Co.'s wagon upset and spilt out their "plunder," but doing no other damage.

June 26th.—. . . 3 o'clock brought us to the summit of a high ridge, the ascent to which is most beautiful. As we leave this summit the tug of war commences. We travel down sides of mountains which present the most gloomy aspect upon which a human being ever gazed. The road is an awful one, and many of the boys think we are in full view of the elephant [meaning the climax of difficulty]. Here the pass is so narrow and deep that the rays of the sun never penetrate to the bottom. The scene is one of grandeur, but, at the same time, one of solemnity and loneliness.

June 27th.—We have travelled six hours this forenoon over a road still more rugged than that of yesterday, and are still in a deep, narrow pass of the mountains. . . . This creek we are compelled to cross thirteen different times. The road here is difficult almost beyond conception . . . we encamped for the night in a deep ravine . . . the road being so thickly covered with dust that you cannot see the forward cattle more than half the time.

June 28th.—. . . We travelled six hours down a narrow ravine which leads to the valley of the Salt Lake over the most miserable road ever travelled by civilized man.

June 29th.—Left camp at 6 o'clock, and in an hour reached the Great City of the Salt Lake. . . . The houses of the city are principally built of logs. Some few, however, which serve as the dwellings of the aristocracy are built of sun-dried brick, covered with mud, and one story high. . . . Butter here is worth 75 cents pound; milk, 50 cents gallon; meat, 75 cents pound. A wagon such as can be purchased at home for $120 is here worth five hundred, and other articles in proportion.

June 30th.—It has been truly said that man was made to mourn, but still there are some bright spots in the pathway of human life. This morning, from some cause, I hardly know what, I felt happier than usual. . . . Whether it was such a feeling as this, or one of thankfulness that we had got thus far on our journey safely after so many hardships and difficulties, I know not, but certain it is my spirits were much

SAN DIEGO

385.—San Diego in 1849. Then an unimportant military post. In 1856 it had become the western terminus of the stage company whose advertisement is shown in the foregoing. Passengers for San Francisco continued northward from San Diego by boat.

more buoyant this morning than their wont since the commencement of this hazardous journey.

July 1st.—. . . We all resumed our journey this morning with bright hopes for the future.

June [July] 2nd.—. . . At 10 o'clock we reached the ferry of Weber River, and found about twenty wagons ahead of us. It was one o'clock before we got over the river, the ferriage being four dollars.

July 4th.—The day never to be forgotten. . . . We had consulted together the previous evening, and resolved to celebrate the day as customary at home, so far as we had the ability to do so. . . . At about 8 o'clock a procession was formed, which marched around a delightful grove of box elder, where a salute was fired. Upon returning to camp, the Declaration of Independence was read by our messmate, Frost, of Ky. . . . Toasts suitable to the occasion were drank, a salute of firearms accompanying each sentiment. Patriotic and sentimental songs were sung, and on the whole I have no doubt the Glorious Fourth was celebrated with as much spirit and zeal in this far-distant valley as in our own state. . . .

July 7th.—. . . Our New Albany friends, Thomas S. Kunkle and Christopher Fox, took breakfast with us this morning. They had left their teams at the Salt Lake and were packing through on horseback. They look well, are in fine spirits, and expect to go through in thirty days.

July 8th.—The weather last night having been too cold for mosquitoes, we all slept soundly till four o'clock, when we aroused from our grassy couches, partook of our hasty meals with a most hearty good will, and resumed our journey. . . .

July 9th.—. . . We were brought up at the brow of a steep road on the spurs of the mountain, presenting a most dismal prospect for the passage of a wagon. We took all the cattle out of our wagon except three yoke, and, putting ropes across each side of the bed, all hands got on the upper side of the mountain [road] and held on like good fellows to prevent the wagon from upsetting in the creek, and in half an hour had all scaled the walls of the precipice without an accident.

July 10th.—. . . I can fix no definite idea of the number of teams and persons which have travelled this road. We can see trains of wagons for a number of miles in advance of us. . . . We have any amount of company. Our position is in about the center of the train of emigrants, all apparently getting on finely. About nine o'clock this morning we arrived at a creek with steep banks, where we found a number of emigrants digging a grave for a young man. . . . We made twenty miles to-day, over mountainous roads, being in danger of sliding down to the bottom of the innumerable hills at every step of our progress.

July 11th.—. . . In the course of the day we passed seven dead

386.—Travelling through Texas by pack-train. One of the overland stage-coach companies, which carried its passengers eastward by way of the southern route through Texas, sold tickets on the understanding that its patrons would be compelled to ride on muleback for 180 miles.

horses, four mules, and three oxen, a fact which speaks plainly enough of the nature of the country through which we are passing.

July 12th.—I was aroused at two o'clock this morning to prepare breakfast. . . . The dust is so deep as to cover our boot-tops, and rises in such clouds as to prevent the driver from seeing his teams. At six o'clock we encamped for the night on the banks of a sloughy creek; here we found tolerable water after skimming the surface of frog slime to the depth of three inches.

July 13th.—The morning was disagreeably cold, the water in our buckets having frozen during the night to the thickness of a dime. . . . This has been the most fatiguing morning's march we have yet experienced. The road dusty and the sun pouring down upon us with such intense heat as to cause the perspiration to roll off my face in large drops. This contrast in the night and day—the one with the temperature of the frigid and the other of the torrid zone, and being exposed to both with scarcely any protection—makes it very trying on the constitution.

July 14.—. . . The mountains on our left are still covered with snow. We passed the grave of a poor fellow by the name of Robinson, from Rushville, Ill., who had just died of bilious fever. We also encountered on the way twenty dead horses, four mules and two oxen. To-day we made twenty miles.

July 16th.—. . . Used the last of our stock of sugar at breakfast. . . . Since travelling through this valley I have counted more than a hundred corpses of horses and mules which have mired and died in these swamps. Numerous Indians were seen prowling about to-day for the purpose of stealing. A train of horse and mule teams in advance of us had twelve horses and ten mules stolen from them in one night. The Indians caught the man who was on guard, gagged him, stripped him stark naked, and wounded him in several places with arrows. Another poor fellow, on a previous night, was shot in the back of the head, and died in less than twenty-four hours. . . . We have to keep strict guard at night. Twenty miles more of our long journey has been accomplished to-day.

July 17th.—Last night we put our shooting irons in good order for the Indians if they should feel disposed to trouble us. Before retiring to rest we fired a grand salute to show the redskins that we were about in case of necessity. . . .

July 18th.—The morning was clear and very cold, our blankets being covered with frost. . . . Pushed on through the cañon and over one of the roughest roads we have traveled since leaving home. . . .

July 19th.—. . . For the past few days grass has been very thin, and my opinion is that in less than two weeks from the present time it will be dried up. In which case, what will be the fate of the large crowd behind us?

387.—A Texas ferry. Ropes were used, as on many of the Oregon trail ferries. The hardest part of such work, especially in crossing a stream like the Pecos, lay in pulling the wagon up the steep bank.

July 21st.—. . . This is an awful looking place; no grass; nothing growing but wild sage and a few small patches of prickly pear. Distance to-day eighteen miles over a sandy plain.

July 22nd.—. . . Travelled twelve miles after night and found water but no grass. This is a gloomy looking place. We hope to be through in twenty days more. Made to-day eighteen miles.

July 24th.—. . . The prospect before us begins to look brown. No grass this side of the Sink, and what may be left by the emigrants in advance of us is parched up by the sun; so we are fearful that we shall not get our teams through. We have no fears for ourselves, as we are within 250 miles of the Gold Region, and could make that on foot; still we are in hopes of not being driven to that necessity. . . . The road has been awful—ascending and descending high sand bluffs, sinking in some places two feet deep. . . . Distance sixteen miles.

July 23rd.—. . . The boys complain that they are nearly worn out, having been compelled to swim the river last night to cut grass for the cattle, and then having to carry it on their backs for three-quarters of a mile through swamps and water up to their waists. But we are blessed with good health, are no ways dispirited, and the best of feeling prevails between all the members of our mess. . . . In the course of the afternoon we counted twenty dead cattle, forty horses, and sixteen mules; also some fifty wagons that had been destroyed or burnt by emigrants intending to pack through.

July 24th.—At ten o'clock last night we got safely through the sixteen-mile desert . . . but finding no grass, we tied our cattle to the wagons.

July 27th.—We were on the road by sunrise this morning, but had proceeded only a few miles when, hearing that a grassless and waterless barren of some sixteen miles was ahead, we turned our cattle out to graze. . . . There is said to be a large meadow, abundantly supplied with grass, some twenty miles in advance of us.

July 29th.—. . . We filled our kegs with water, being the only drinkable water we shall get till we have crossed a desert of sixty-five miles in advance. At one o'clock we reached the meadow of which I spoke . . . having traveled thirty-six miles without coming across a spear of grass. . . . We have concluded to remain here for several days. . . . In our day's travel I have counted near a hundred dead horses, thirty mules, and sixty oxen; also about twenty wagons that emigrants have been compelled to leave. The horses strewed along the road had given out, and, with those which had been spared, the emigrants had concluded to pack their way through.

July 30th.—All busy to-day making hay, and have now some six hundred pounds lying by our wagon, intended for use while crossing the desert. Had we not had the good fortune of coming across this grass our cattle would have been in poor plight for travelling. The labor of cutting it, however, is very great, and we have, besides, to carry it one mile on our backs and to wade through water three feet deep.

August 1st.—. . . The commencement of the sixty-five-mile desert. A drive of three hours brought us to another slough, where we took in our supply of water, and found two hundred wagons doing the same. Here we rested our cattle till the cool of the evening, when we took our place in a train about five miles in length. We soon struck a heavy, sandy road, and in the space of one mile I counted forty-six wagons that had been deserted, the horses not being able to drag them through. At one o'clock in the morning we brought to and halted till daylight.

August 2nd.—Started out by four o'clock this morning; at six stopped to cook our breakfast and lighten our wagons by throwing away the heavier portion of our clothing and such other articles as we can best spare. We pushed on to-day with as much speed as possible, determined, if possible, to get through the desert, but our cattle gave such evident signs of exhaustion that we were compelled to stop. Being completely out of water, myself, Rowley, and Woodfill bought two gallons from a trader (who had brought it along on speculation), for which we paid the very reasonable price of one dollar per gallon. The desert through which we are passing is strewed with dead cattle, mules, and horses. I counted in a distance of fifteen miles 350 dead

Overland California Stage Coach.

388.—A small, light, overland stage-wagon with a capacity for seven passengers, such as was used by some lines before 1858. Several companies engaged in the business, with varying degrees of success or failure, between 1851 and the completion of the first transcontinental railroad. The first route, extending through Salt Lake City, was found to be too far north. On two or three occasions a coach on that road was halted by snow in the autumn and detained until the following year before it could complete its trip.

horses, 280 oxen, and 120 mules;[1] and hundreds of others are left behind, being unable to keep up. Such is travelling through the desert. . . . A tan-yard or slaughterhouse is a flower garden in comparison. A train from Missouri have, to-day, shot twenty oxen. Vast amounts of valuable property have been abandoned and thrown away in this desert—leather trunks, clothing, wagons, etc., to the value of at least a hundred thousand dollars, in about twenty miles. I have counted in the last ten miles 362 wagons, which in the States cost about $120 each. The cause of so many wagons being abandoned is to endeavor to save the animals and reach the end of the journey as soon as possible by packing through; the loss of personal goods is a matter of small importance comparatively.

August 3rd.—We are now encamped in the desert, and a sweet place it is, too. . . . Our companion, Smith, returned from the river at one o'clock with five gallons of water—a most acceptable present.

August 4th.—. . . We remained in camp till six o'clock, P. M., when, having procured a light wagon,[2] we pushed out.

August 5th.—. . . Here we met several traders from Sacramento City, who had been out twelve days with provisions to sell to the

[1] An average of a dead animal for every 106 feet of the road.
[2] No doubt selected from the large stock displayed along the road.

emigrants. Flour is held at $1.50 per pound; sugar, $1.25 per pound; bacon-sides, $1.00 per pound, etc., etc.

August 6th.—This morning four of our companions started on ahead of the teams to pick out a suitable place at the mines for working. To-day we crossed a desert fourteen miles wide.

August 8th.—. . . We have now crossed the last desert. . . . Our only dread now is the Sierra Nevada Mountains. This night we encamped with some 200 wagons on Carson River, much worn down by night travelling.

August 9th.—. . . Ascended a mountain over a rough, rocky road. The snow-capped mountains are in view in every direction, and some of the boys say there is no way of escaping them, but I guess there is a way.

August 10th.—. . . Myself, Genung, and Woodfill remained behind with one of our oxen, which was sick. We watched the faithful animal and ministered to him all the remedies in our possession, but he died. It seemed like parting with an old friend. He had shared with us all the vicissitudes of this toilsome journey. . . . The loftiest mountains we have yet seen are now in full view; we suppose them to be the Sierra Nevada. . . . In the afternoon we came to a place called the Mormon Station, a perfect skinning post for emigrants. They have provisions of all kinds: Flour, $1.50 per pound; sugar, $1.75; bacon, $1.75.

August 11th.—. . . . The road which we are travelling defies all description. Of all the rough roads I have ever seen or even imagined, this beats them. Rocks from the size of a flour barrel to that of a meeting-house are strewed all along the road, and these we are compelled to clamber and squeeze our way through as best we can. The boys say they never saw a road a hundredth part as bad as this. . . . The mountains close in upon us on every side, and raise their lofty peaks high toward Heaven, which are covered with snow, glistening strangely in the sun.

August 12th.—Our cattle this morning look rough and fagged down by yesterday's jaunt. . . . We hitched seven yoke of oxen to our wagon. . . . This summit is covered with snow to the depth of eight feet, and the air is very cold. . . . Distance to-day twelve miles, over awful roads.

August 13th.—On consultation last night it was determined to throw one of our wagons away and double team. . . . Commenced ascending the second summit of the mountain; travelled about half a mile, in which distance we had gone up about a hundred feet, when the cattle gave out and refused to stir an inch. This was a pretty predicament; a number of teams were below, waiting for us to go ahead before they could move. Everything was thrown into confusion. Some were for packing the oxen; some for making a cart; some for

OVERLAND MAIL COMPANY,
VIA LOS ANGELES.

TIME OF DEPARTURE CHANGED

On and after the first day of December, 1858, the Coaches of THE OVERLAND MAIL COMPANY will leave the Office,

CORNER of WASHINGTON and KEARNY STS.
(PLAZA,) as follows:

THROUGH MAIL,
MONDAY AND FRIDAY, at 12 o'clock, M.

Fort Yuma and Intermediate Stations,
MONDAY, WEDNESDAY AND FRIDAY,
At 12 o'clock, MERIDIAN, instead of 12 o'clock, Midnight, as heretofore.

FARE—FROM SAN FRANCISCO TO FORT SMITH, ARKANSAS, OR TO TERMINUS OF THE PACIFIC RAILROAD,

ONE HUNDRED DOLLARS!

LOUIS McLANE, Agent Overland Mail Co.

389.—The Overland Mail. Most important stage-coach line to California. Its vehicles ran twice a week in each direction and carried passengers between Arkansas and San Francisco for $100. Date, 1858. The line continued in operation for ten years more, until the advancing railway supplanted it.

one thing and some for another. It was finally concluded to pack our oxen with what little provisions and clothing we had and throw the wagon away. We went to work arranging things for packing; at twelve o'clock, having everything ready, rolled out. . . . We had travelled about an hour when our oxen became much wearied and badly frightened; one young fellow that had our cooking utensils aboard, such as dishes, knives and forks, cups, tin-pans, etc., etc., ran off down the mountain with his pack hanging to him, throwing everything helter-skelter in every direction. We finally overhauled him and gathered up what scattered fragments we could find, changing his pack to an older and more docile animal. At every tree we would pass, however, the packs of some of the cattle would be dropping off; such was our first experiment in "packing." About sunset . . . we stopped for the night, having made six miles; tall travelling, that.

August 14th.—. . . About eight miles distant from our last en-

campment, over rough, rocky roads, and through banks of snow fourteen feet deep. . . .

August 15th.—. . . We recommenced our descent of the mountain, which in many places was very difficult. . . . Beautiful flowers, myrtles, etc., are frequently to be seen, exhibiting all the freshness of May. . . . We are now fifty miles from the gold diggings. . . . Distance to-day fifteen miles.

August 16th.—It appears to me that the miles in the mountains are twice as long as those in the valley. . . . Made twelve miles.

August 17th.—Last night was quite cold, and all the cover we had saved when our cattle refused to further pull our wagon, was not sufficient to keep us warm. . . .

August 18th.—. . . Drove on till about ten o'clock, when our cattle appeared so nearly exhausted that we stopped and cut down the limbs of some oak trees to feed them. For ourselves we had cherries, plums, raspberries, gooseberries, and filberts, which the boys gathered while in camp here. . . .

August 19th.—This morning we started at six o'clock, and in two hours struck the gold valley. . . . Travelled till ten o'clock, and, finding some grass and water in the valley, we unyoked our cattle and let them graze, while I prepared something for ourselves to eat; of which we were in great need. Here we cooked the last provisions we had on the route. We have been greatly blessed and favored by a kind Providence throughout this long and toilsome journey. Many have fallen by accident and disease, while we have been permitted to progress thus far smoothly and quietly, in fine spirits, and enjoying good health. At six o'clock we arrived in the city of Weaversville. . . . Its population is about one thousand; the dwellings are principally log cabins and shanties. Found the boys who had preceded us [the four who had started ahead on August 6th] all well, but in low spirits—provisions high, gold scarce, etc.

August 20th.—This forenoon was occupied in deliberation, and it was concluded to have a division of the mess; consequently we had an auction of a portion of our goods. I bought a sharp-pointed shovel for $13.00 and a pick for $4.50. The mess was then dissolved in "Friendship, Love, and Truth."

August 23rd.—. . . The most I have made in one day in digging here is four dollars,[1] and I have done some tall digging.

August 24th.—Our hole having given out, we rambled about for miles in search of a location, but every spot of ground appeared to be dug up or was occupied by miners.

August 26th.—. . . We washed out about fifty buckets of dirt, and got about a half ounce of gold, wet feet, and aching bones.

[1] The current market value of four soft-boiled eggs, or a gallon of molasses, or a seidlitz powder. Sugar was only 50 cents a pound in Weaversville, however, and bacon 75 cents a pound. Flour was cheap: 20 cents a pound.

August 27th.—Our hole having again given out, we prospected about several hours, and at length found a place which bid fair to yield tolerably well. So we set to work, and labored as hard as any poor fellow ever did, carrying our dirt about four hundred yards, over rocks, to the creek. It did not yield as well as we expected, and to our surprise soon gave out. Got half an ounce.

THE OVERLAND MAIL STARTING FROM SAN FRANCISCO FOR THE EAST.—[FROM A PHOTOGRAPH.]

390.—A coach of the line advertised in the preceding illustration, as it appeared when about to leave San Francisco. Concord type of vehicle. Date, 1858.

August 28th.—. . . Moved our camp five miles further down the creek. . . . Worked till the sun got so hot that we were compelled to take to our tent.

August 29th.—The hard work yesterday caused me to pass a restless night. . . . By eight o'clock got down to a sufficient depth for washing; so we each shouldered a bag of dirt and started for the creek; and if carrying great bags of earth on one's back all day, in the hot sun and over rocks and deep ledges, is not hard work, then I am no judge of what hard work is.

August 30th.—. . . Our day's labor yielded about nine dollars.

August 31st.—. . . The proceeds of our day's labors amounted to nine dollars and some cents.

September 1st.—Rowley is discouraged and thinks mining a poor business. My thoughts to-day [it was a Sunday] are more than a thousand miles distant—they are of home, mother, sister, and friends. . . .

September 2nd.—The result of my labor to-day is six dollars.

September 3rd.—The day's labor resulted in wet feet, aching bones, and the enormous yield of $5.60.

September 4th.—Passed the day in throwing up dirt in the ravine.

September 5th.—. . . $6.10.

September 6th.—. . . $5.70.

September 7th.—. . . Made some three dollars.

September 8th.—Spent the day in writing letters home. . . . Myself and Rowley go up to Sacramento City to-morrow to see if we cannot muster a letter or newspaper, neither of which we have seen for six months past.

Abbey's trip was a typical example of the overland journey as such an expedition was seen by a majority of the emigrants during the early years of wagon train progress to the Pacific. The western movement had already become so large, when he made the march just described, that stage-coach travel from western Missouri to Salt Lake City had already been established, and similar facilities between Salt Lake City and Sacramento came into existence soon afterward.

The first stage-coach service was begun between Independence and Salt Lake City in the summer of 1850, and was made possible by the action of the government in awarding a contract for the carriage of the mail between those places. A coach left Independence every month—except in winter—and at first traversed the twelve hundred miles in two or three weeks. Later, when stage stations and relays of live stock had been established along the road, the time consumed by the trip was materially reduced and a schedule of arriving and departing vehicles was established. The service between Salt Lake and Sacramento also consisted of a monthly coach, but

its progress was very erratic. There was little use made of the transcontinental stages by the public during the first years of their precarious and irregular existence, but in 1857 Congress passed a bill authorizing the establishment of an overland California mail line, and as a result of that action there came into being the Overland Mail, whose Concord coaches moved between St. Louis and San Francisco on a roundabout route more than 2,700 miles long, in the short space of twenty-five days.

This enterprise, which was annually paid several hundred thousand dollars by the government for the transportation of letters, at once became a popular line of transcontinental travel and continued to hold that position until the completion of the first railway to the Pacific coast. At the hey-day of its career and prosperity the Overland Mail required for its use about a hundred coaches, seven or eight hundred drivers and other employees, and fifteen hundred horses and mules. The cost of a journey from the Mississippi to the Pacific in one of its vehicles was one hundred dollars.

After the establishment of the Overland Mail, and several other stage lines, no advance in methods of progress through the West was possible until the arrival of the iron rails.

CHAPTER LVI

THE IDEA OF A RAILROAD TO THE PACIFIC — ONE FINAL TASK NECESSARY IN THE LONG STRUGGLE FOR CONTINENTAL CONQUEST — BIRTH OF THE SCHEME — ITS EARLY ADVOCATES — PARKER'S WORDS — ASA WHITNEY APPEARS — HIS PROPOSAL AND THE WIDESPREAD SUPPORT IT RECEIVED — THE IDEAS OF CONGRESS — WHY WHITNEY'S PLAN COULD NOT SUCCEED — ITS RELATION TO THE OREGON MIGRATIONS — EFFECT OF THE EVENTS OF 1848 — THE RAILWAY CONVENTIONS — A CONTEST FOR ADVANTAGE — EASTERN JEALOUSIES DELAY THE PROJECT FOR A DOZEN YEARS

ONE last undertaking was still required in the long task of continental conquest after the establishment of stage-coach travel to California, and it consisted in building a still farther westward extension of the existing railway system that should supplant the primitive methods by which the Pacific coast was then reached from the Mississippi valley.

Perhaps the first clear and definite printed proposal for the construction of a railway that should connect the interior valley with the Pacific Ocean was made almost at the outset of America's railroad history. In a weekly newspaper called the *Emigrant,* published in the little town of Ann Arbor, in the territory of Michigan, on

February 6 of 1832, appeared an article from which the following is an extract:

"The distance between New York and the Oregon is about three thousand miles,—from New York we could pursue the most convenient route to the vicinity of Lake Erie, thence along the south shore of this lake and of Lake Michigan, cross the Mississippi between forty-one and forty-two of north latitude, cross the Missouri about the mouth of the Platte, and thence on by the most convenient route to the Rocky Mountains, near the source of the last named river, thence to the Oregon, by the valley of the south branch of that stream, called the southern branch of Lewis' River. We hope the United States will not object to conducting this national project. . . . But if the United States would not do this . . . Congress would not, we presume, object to the organization of a company and a grant of three millions of acres for this purpose."[1]

It will be noticed that this early proposal for a transcontinental iron road was published contemporaneously with the first outbreak of the railway fever in Michigan Territory, during the same year in which the territorial legislative council granted its first charter for a railroad designed to extend east and west through southern Michigan. Possibly the unknown author of the printed proposal found his inspiration in the local project then under consideration, which seems to have been included as a part of his much more ambitious vision.

The article in the Michigan newspaper attracted some attention in the East, and soon after its appearance a Massachusetts paper[2] published a letter written by Doctor Samuel Bancroft Barlow of the town of Granville, Massachusetts, in which he said: "An able writer in the *Emigrant* . . . in a series of numbers of which it has fallen to my lot to see only the first, is endeavoring to draw the attention of the public to the scheme of uniting New York

[1] The quotation from the "Emigrant," as here given, is taken from Davis's history, "The Union Pacific Railway," pp. 13-14. The original copy of the "Emigrant," in which Davis found the article, is contained in the collections of the Washtenaw County Pioneer Association, at Ann Arbor, Michigan.

[2] The "Intelligencer," of Westfield.

and the mouth of the Columbia River by railroad." Barlow's article then went on to say: "I have a method to propose by which this work can be accomplished by our general government at the expense of the Union. . . . Let preliminary measures be taken for three years to come, such as making examinations, surveys, lines, estimates, etc., etc., at the end of which time, the public debt being paid, the national treasury overflowing (I presume also that the present duties and taxes, indeed every source of revenue, be continued at their present rates), then let the work proceed with all possible and prudent speed and vigor to a speedy and perfect completion, and let six, eight, ten, twelve or fifteen millions of dollars of the public money be appropriated to defray the expense annually until it is finished."[1]

The next mention of the scheme[2] was that made by Samuel Parker, whose transcontinental trip between Buffalo and Oregon was made in the year 1835. His westward progress after leaving St. Louis was by way of the Missouri and Platte Rivers, the Black Hills, and across the high plains and the Rocky Mountains to the head waters of the Columbia River, which he thence followed. Parker began his journey on March 14, and on August

[1] The "Intelligencer" article is quoted in Smalley's "History of the Southern Pacific Railway," pp. 52-56. Smalley is inclined to give precedence to Barlow as the originator of the idea of a trans-continental road. He says: "Perhaps there were earlier advocates of a Pacific railway than Doctor Barlow, but if so, the author of this volume has not been able to identify them, and therefore accords to him the first place." But with this conclusion Davis does not agree. Davis says ("The Union Pacific Railway," p. 15): "In the face of Doctor Barlow's own acknowledgment, however, it is difficult to find a justification of Mr. Smalley's statement. To this unwarranted conclusion by Mr. Smalley, attention was also called by General Granville M. Dodge in a valuable paper on Transcontinental Railways, read by him before the Society of the Army of the Tennessee at its Twenty-first Annual Reunion at Toledo, Ohio, September 15, 1888." Davis has established the date of the "Emigrant" article, and Smalley, in discussing (p. 52) the date of Doctor Barlow's letter, says: "Evidently the [Barlow] article was written as early as 1834 and perhaps in 1833, and the articles in a Michigan paper to which it refers are supposed to have been called out by others previously written by him." Unless similar proposals of still earlier date are hereafter discovered, the weight of evidence points to the author of the "Emigrant" editorial as the first man who definitely and publicly advocated the joining of the oceans by rail. Although the writer of the "Emigrant" article is unknown, Davis says: "It should probably be accredited to Judge S. W. Dexter, the publisher and one of the editors of the paper." (p. 13.)

[2] Thus far brought to light.

391.—The first railway across the continent. A scene during the preliminary work of the surveyors. Drawn by F. M. Case, one of the civil engineers in charge.

10—having then reached the farther side of the Rocky Mountains—he made the following observations in the daily written record of his trip:

"The passage through these mountains is in a valley, so gradual in the ascent and descent that I should not have known we were approaching them, had it not been that as we advanced the atmosphere gradually became cooler, and at length we saw the perpetual snows upon our right hand and upon our left, elevated many thousand feet above us. . . . This valley was not discovered until some years since . . . It varies in width from two to fifteen miles; and following its course, the distance through the mountains is about one hundred miles, or four days journey. Though there are some elevations and depressions in this valley, yet comparatively speaking it is level; and the summit where the waters divide, which flow into the Atlantic and Pacific, is about six thousand feet above the level of the ocean. There would not be any difficulty in the way of constructing a railroad from the Atlantic to the Pacific ocean. There is no greater difficulty, in the whole distance, than has already been overcome in passing the Green mountains, between Boston and Albany; and probably the time may not be far distant, when trips will be made across

the continent, as they have been made to the Niagara Falls to see nature's wonders."[1]

The few men who had discussed the possibility or desirability of a transcontinental railway before Parker wrote the observations here given had considered the matter in an academic fashion, and from viewpoints far to the eastward. The importance of Parker's statement, therefore, lies in the fact that it was made by him after he had personally traversed the route which he described, and had discovered out of his own experience that the project of which he spoke was apparently a practical one.

Others who advocated a transcontinental line during the fourth decade were John Plumbe, of Dubuque, Iowa, who in 1836 proposed the building of a road from Lake Michigan to Oregon;[2] Louis Gaylord Clarke, who wrote[3] of a similar enterprise during the same year, and Hartwell Carver, of Rochester, New York, who in 1837 advocated[4] a railroad which should have its western terminus on the Columbia River. Lalburn Boggs, an early Governor of Missouri, prepared an article on the subject in 1843,[5] and an editorial contained in *Hunt's Merchants' Magazine* for January, 1845, predicted that "those persons are now living who will see a railroad connecting New York with the Pacific, and a steam communication from Oregon to China."

By this time similar arguments and suggestions had become rather frequent, although no inspired prophet or other personality with sufficient power to concentrate

[1] Parker's "Journal of an Exploring Tour Beyond the Rocky Mountains." Text quoted from pp. 76-77 of the fifth edition, 1846.

[2] A public meeting in promotion of Plumbe's project took place at Dubuque in March of 1838.

[3] In the "Knickerbocker Magazine."

[4] In the New York "Courier and Enquirer" (according to Davis, p. 17). H. H. Bancroft, in his "History of California" (Vol. VII, pp. 498-499), credits Carver with similar writings during the year 1832, but Bancroft's contention respecting Carver is rejected by Smalley (p. 52) and by Davis (p. 17).

[5] See Bancroft's "History of California," Vol. VII, p. 500, note.

public attention on the subject had as yet arisen. Two features characteristic of nearly all the early plans for an iron road to the Pacific are noticeable; namely, that the undertaking should be governmental in character, and that its western terminus be in the Oregon region.

At this point in the development of the idea the inspired prophet arose in the person of a New York merchant named Asa Whitney. Whitney was a man of foresight and wide travel throughout the world, and during two years spent in China between 1842 and 1844 he had elaborated a plan for building the highway that had been discussed in the manner indicated during the previous decade. He returned to America in 1844, and in the eight years immediately thereafter he expended his whole fortune and devoted all his time and energy to a ceaseless campaign having for its purpose the creation of a railroad from the interior valley to the Pacific coast. To him, more than to any other one man is due the credit for bringing the idea before the mass of his fellow countrymen. While his particular project was not realized in concrete form, and while—for reasons that will later appear—it could not be so realized, Whitney's work was nevertheless of extreme importance.

His first proposal to Congress in behalf of the plan he had formulated was made to the Senate on January 28, 1845.[1] The argument addressed by him to Congress read in part:

"Your memorialist begs respectfully to represent to your honorable body, that, by rivers, railroads, and canals, all the States east and north of the Potomac connect directly with the waters of the great lakes.

"That there is a chain of railroads in projection, and being built, from New York to the southern shore of Lake Michigan, which will produce commercial, political, and national results and benefits, which

[1] Its official publication is contained in "Senate Doc. 69; 28th Congress, 2d Session," from which the extracts here given are quoted.

VIEW OF OMAHA — LOOKING DOWN FARNUM STREET.

392.—Omaha, the eastern terminus of the first transcontinental iron road, was chosen because of its geographical location and because it was in a territory. Nebraska was not yet a state. Some members of Congress questioned the power of the government to build, or aid in building, a highway lying partly within state lines, but they gave no opposition to similar work in a territory. Thus Omaha became the first modern gate to the far West.

must be seen and felt through all our vast Confederacy. Your memorialist would further represent to your honorable body that he has devoted much time and attention to the subject of a railroad from Lake Michigan, through the Rocky mountains to the Pacific ocean, and that he finds such a route practicable, the results from which would be incalculable, far beyond the imagination of man to estimate. To the interior of our vast and widely spread country it would be as the heart is to the human body. It would, when completed, cross all the mighty rivers and streams, which wend their way to the ocean through our vast and rich valleys from Oregon to Maine, a distance of more than three thousand miles. The incalculable importance of such a chain of roads will readily be seen and appreciated by your honorable body. . . .

"Such easy and rapid communication would bring all our immensely wide spread population together as one vast city, the moral and social effects of which must harmonize all together as one family, with but one interest—the general good of all. . . ."

Whitney then went on to outline his plan for meeting the expense of the work, which he estimated at about $65,-

000,000. He asked Congress to give to him a tract of land sixty miles in width and extending from Lake Michigan to the Pacific. This land he proposed to sell at low prices to city dwellers, thereby to some extent relieving city congestion and poverty, using the proceeds in necessary construction processes. The road, when finished, was to belong to the nation, and any net profits resulting from its operation were to be devoted to public education. The final paragraphs of the proposal dealt with the future relations between the United States and Oregon, reading:

"Your memorialist believes that the time is not far distant when Oregon will become a State of such magnitude and importance as to compel the establishment of a separate Government—a separate nation, which will have cities, ports, and harbors, all free, inviting all the nations of the earth to a free trade with them; when they will control and monopolize the valuable fisheries of the Pacific; control the coast trade of Mexico and South America, of the Sandwich Islands, Japan, and all China, and [that the separate nation of Oregon and her cities will] be our most dangerous and successful rivals in the commerce of the world.

"But your memorialist believes that this road will unite them to us, enabling them to receive the protecting care of our Government, sharing in its blessings, benefits, and prosperity, and imparting to us our share of the great benefits from their local position, enterprise and industry."

The features of Whitney's proposal that made it appeal so strongly to the public are obvious. In the first place it provided for the long-discussed and important work, and furthermore outlined a plan by which the road might seemingly be carried to completion without becoming a direct financial burden on the country. It suggested a colonization of the West, and the creation of the railway by means of that colonization. Whitney's proposition was essentially an unselfish one. He asked for no part of the operating revenues of the undertaking, and for no financial benefit from land sales except in the improbable contingency that the proceeds of such sales exceeded the sum necessary for the faithful completion of

the whole idea under the supervision of the government. The colonization and land-sale phases of the scheme—although they formed its basis—were, indeed, its fundamental weakness. Under the same rapidity at which public lands were then being sold in more thickly settled and desirable portions of the public domain it would have required almost a century to have obtained a sum sufficiently large to build the road according to Whitney's notion.

The national legislature took no action on the first memorial,[1] and during the same year of 1845 Whitney himself undertook an exploring expedition over that part of his projected route east of the Rocky Mountains. On his return to the domain of civilization, late in the year, he began a widespread campaign in advocacy of his proposal which soon produced astonishing results.

By correspondence with mercantile bodies in many cities, by articles printed in newspapers and magazines, and by addresses in all parts of the country east of the Mississippi, he succeeded in bringing the idea of a Pacific railroad before the whole people. He also kept his plan constantly before Congress through the medium of additional memorials, and by the year 1850 no less than fourteen states[2] had endorsed the scheme in legislative resolutions addressed to the Federal government. Innumerable cities and towns also took similar action as a result of public meetings.

The political developments of the period contributed materially in fixing public attention upon the subject. Texas was annexed in 1845; a settlement of the Oregon question was effected in 1846, and in the same year news

[1] It was presented during the final weeks of an expiring Congress.
[2] Kentucky, Indiana, Connecticut, Maine, Maryland, Michigan, New Hampshire, New Jersey, New York, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, Tennessee and Vermont.

reached the East that the American pioneers in Oregon had organized a provisional government. In fact all the interest displayed by the people in Oregon affairs up to that time, and the migrations thence, had a connection with Whitney's railroad plan which requires no comment here.

Congress showed itself to be favorably predisposed to such an undertaking. The members of the Federal legislature were in general agreement regarding the desirability of a steam road to the Pacific, and were principally concerned with the wisest economic method of its creation and its proposed route. The attitude of Congress toward the principle involved was indicated by a report on the subject made to the Senate in 1846 by the Committee on Public Lands. The document in question contained the following passages:[1]

"[The Committee report] that they have bestowed upon this proposition that consideration its importance demands, and which, but a few years since . . . a committee of this body would have been excused for treating as a visionary speculation. . . .

"The proposition is a startling one and of vast importance to our country and to the world. . . .

"Preliminary to the consideration of the proposition referred to the Committee, and before one of such vast magnitude and importance should be entertained, it is indispensably necessary that the way should be seen perfectly clear, and that no constitutional difficulty would be likely to present itself at the commencement of the undertaking, or obstruct its after progress.

"Fortunately, the task of showing the absence of difficulty on this point is a very easy one. The most scrupulous, in according to Congress power to construct roads and canals, have not doubted the propriety of exercising this power upon territory beyond the jurisdiction of a State sovereignty, as the constitution declares that 'the Congress shall have power to dispose of, and make all needful rules and regulations respecting, the territory or other property belonging to the United States.' . . . The sovereignty of the United States extends over the entire route contemplated for this road, and it only remains to extinguish the Indian title

[1] "Senate Doc. No. 466, 29th Congress, 1st Session; July 31, 1846," pp. 1-26. This report was made as the result of consideration of memorials submitted by Whitney, and by citizens endorsing the Whitney proposals.

to such portion of the territory as may be required for the site of the road and its appendages, and to be disposed of to obtain means for its construction.

"Thus far concerns the construction of roads beyond the jurisdiction of the States, but can Congress constitutionally exercise the power to make them within the States? It has been answered that, with the consent of the States on whose soil the roads are to be made, there can be no difficulty, provided the means be at the disposal of Congress. This principle was early admitted.[1] . . . A national road having thus been authorized and partially constructed, by the exercise of this power, from the Atlantic ocean to the seat of Government of Missouri, and within the jurisdiction of several States, it will not be expected that this committee should consider it necessary to argue the existence of still more ample powers to authorize the construction of a road through the public territory,[2] and beyond the jurisdiction of any existing State, to the shores of the Pacific ocean. . . ."

And in conclusion the committee recognized a prevailing fear that the Oregon country might organize itself into a separate nation if not joined to the United States by better means of travel. On that phase of the subject the report said:

"A well-grounded apprehension seems to exist, that, unless some means like the one proposed, of rapid communication with that region, be devised and completed, that country, soon to become a State of vast proportions and of immense political importance, by reason of its position, its own wants, unattended to by this Government, will be compelled to establish a separate government—a separate nation—with its cities, ports and harbors . . . and become our most dangerous rival in the commerce of the world. In the opinion of the committee, this road will bind these two great geographical sections indissolubly together, to their mutual advantage, and be the cement of a union, which time will but render more durable. . . ."

[1] It has been seen, in the discussion of the National Road, that more than this was early admitted. Federal power to appropriate money for building a National Road through states, and across state boundaries, was asserted without asking or obtaining the consent of states affected.

[2] The contradiction between these statements of a Congressional committee in 1846, and the actual situation as it then existed and afterwards prevailed for twenty-two years, will be observed by reference to the chapter devoted to the natives of the West and their relation to the development of white travel in those regions. The red peoples native to the West were still self-governing, and their ownership of soil was also undisputed. A few tribes in that part of the continent had in treaties previously acknowledged themselves to be under the protection of the United States, but no native nation of the West gave up its independence and acknowledged the jurisdiction of the United States until 1849, when the Navajos took those steps in a formal treaty. Despite the Congressional utterance here cited, the United States paid millions of dollars to western Indians during the following twenty years in return for permission to travel overland toward the Pacific and to build a railroad in that direction.

The 29th Congress—to the Senate of which the foregoing report was submitted—took no definite action. It was not convinced that Whitney's plan was the wisest one which could be formulated. Agitation in its behalf continued during the next two years, nevertheless, and the

First Construction Train passing the Palisades, C. P. R. R. (See page 1331)

393.—Laying the track. A construction train on the Central Pacific division of the work, which was built from the Pacific coast eastward. The train carried ties and rails, and slowly advanced above them as they were put in place.

states and cities continued to record their endorsement of the project. During the 30th Congress a Senate committee again submitted a favorable report,[1] but by the close of the year 1848 there scarce remained possibility that the Whitney idea might receive the sanction of a law in its behalf. Although public thought was crystallizing into realization that a railway to the far West would become a certainty in the not distant future, new and unexpected conditions were swiftly altering popular judg-

[1] July 7, 1848.

ment concerning the matter of its location. It was becoming apparent that a railroad toward Oregon, extending along the northern edge of the country, would not be the best solution of the problem.

Recent events had changed the entire aspect of the question. During preceding years all discussion of a railroad to the Pacific had been based on the belief that such a road must inevitably extend to Oregon, since the nation then owned no territory on the Pacific coast south of the present boundary of Oregon. But by the treaty of peace negotiated with Mexico the United States had come into possession of an immense region in the western part of the continent now occupied by the states of Arizona, California, Nevada, New Mexico, Texas, Utah, and parts of Colorado and Wyoming.[1] All this territory belonged to Mexico when the proposal for a railway to Oregon was first made. The people saw that its transfer to the United States extended the national possessions so far to the southward on the Pacific coast that a railroad to Oregon—if but one transcontinental road was to be built—would not serve the purposes for which such a route was intended. The acquirement of the new region also removed possibility that Oregon might later be erected into a separate sovereignty. Nor would a road to the West along the proposed Whitney line have been of much value as an aid to the penetration and development of the new lands taken from Mexico.

Still another circumstance intimately connected with the territorial aggrandizement of the nation; an event even more powerful in finally determining the path of the country's first transcontinental road, had taken place—

[1] Although Texas, of course, had previously arrived in the United States over the pathway of her own revolution and independence.

though without the knowledge of the people of the East —a few days before the treaty of peace. On January 24, 1848, Marshall had found rich deposits of gold on the American River, in California. He told Sutter of the discovery, and the two men tried to keep the secret for their own advantage, but knowledge of it gradually spread through the neighborhood. During the following spring the news from California crept northward into Oregon, and by the late summer even the middle and Atlantic states were filled with rumors of a new El Dorado. The rumors were soon substantiated by definite reports whose immediate consequences were the mania in the East and the migrations growing from it. The acquirement of nearly a million square miles of additional territory toward the West and Southwest, coupled with the discovery of gold and the resultant overland rush by hundreds of thousands of people, made it apparent to the whole country that a Pacific railway had become a pressing necessity.

Such was the situation by 1850, and yet twelve years of economic and political jealousies were to elapse before the government finally gave its authorization to an enterprise whose need had so long been recognized. Before the territorial expansion and gold discovery of 1848 it had been taken for granted that the western terminus of any future ocean-joining railway line would be the Oregon region, and in the early days of debate over the Whitney idea no serious controversy had developed regarding the location of the eastern terminus of the road. But the two remarkable events of 1848 wrought a great change with regard to both those matters. It was promptly seen that the long coveted bay of San Francisco—centrally located on the newly-acquired Pacific coast boundary of the na-

tion—was the logical western end of any transcontinental railway which might be created by governmental initiative or aid. And the obvious future importance of such a road gave the location of its eastern terminus a conse-

LAYING THE TRACK OF THE PACIFIC RAILROAD.

394.—The similar process as it was carried forward on the Union Pacific road from east to west. The two construction trains gradually approached one another for more than three years and seven months, until on the morning of May 10, 1869, the gap between them had been reduced to about one hundred feet.

quence which that matter had not previously possessed. Nearly all the states and important cities east of the Mississippi at once developed an extreme interest in the location of the eastern end of the proposed line and began a struggle to secure the benefits which would flow from the possession of that strategic point.

No less than four conventions assembled during 1849 to consider the subject of a transcontinental road. The meetings were held in Chicago, Boston, St. Louis and Memphis. Still another council of the same sort took

place in Philadelphia in April of 1850. These gatherings showed the newly-awakened popular interest in the eastern terminus of the enterprise they had met to advocate. During the years of Whitney's agitation in behalf of a road to the Oregon country that plan had received much support in New England, New York, Pennsylvania and Maryland. It had then seemed likely that the railways already existing in those states, together with the similar roads extending westward along Lake Erie and through Michigan, would make Boston, New York, Philadelphia and Baltimore the logical eastern outlets of a Pacific road built in accordance with the Whitney suggestions, and the endorsement given to that enthusiast by the eastern cities here named was largely due to the opinion in question. Chicago and other lake towns were also energetic advocates of the Oregon route prior to 1850, and for the same reason.

But the radical alteration in the political map of the far western regions was immediately reflected east of the Mississippi, and the series of railway conventions was due in large measure to sectional jealousies and regional ambitions having their source in a desire to obtain the eastern end of the contemplated iron highway. St. Louis and all the upper Mississippi valley came forward with an argument in favor of a route considerably to the southward of Whitney's proposed line; Mississippi, South Carolina and Charleston entered the field in behalf of a route south of that favored by St. Louis; Memphis, backed by Tennessee and Arkansas, urged the building of a road extending westward from Independence in Missouri, with branches from that town to Memphis, St. Louis and Chicago. Even Texas entered the lists, and Sam Houston —then a Federal senator from the state—introduced a bill

providing that a railroad to the Pacific coast might be constructed by a Texas railway company.[1]

The St. Louis convention was probably the most important of the various gatherings which assembled to promote better communication facilities with the far West. It met on October 15, 1849, and was attended by several hundred delegates, who represented no less than fifteen states.[2] Acrimonious debates characterized the gathering, which finally adopted the following resolutions offered by Richard W. Thompson, of Indiana.[3]

"Resolved, That in the opinion of this Convention it is the duty of the General Government to provide, at an early period, for the construction of a Central National Railroad from the Valley of the Mississippi to the Pacific Ocean.

"Resolved, That in the opinion of this Convention, a Grand Trunk Railroad, with branches to St. Louis, Memphis and Chicago, would be such a central and national one.

"Resolved, That a committee be appointed to communicate to the Convention to be held at Memphis the foregoing resolutions, and to request the concurrence of said Convention therein."

The Thompson resolutions were adopted by an almost unanimous vote, and the convention duly memoralized Congress in accordance therewith. From that time active agitation in favor of the route previously advocated by Whitney was no longer visible, although various bills in his behalf were presented to Congress until as late a date as 1852.[4]

[1] The Galveston and Red River Railway Company.

[2] Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Kentucky, Louisiana, Maryland, Michigan, Missouri, New Jersey, New York, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Tennessee, Virginia and Wisconsin.

[3] "Proceedings of the National Railroad Convention, which assembled in the City of St. Louis, on the Fifteenth of October, 1849. Etc., etc." St. Louis: 1850, pp. 35-36.

[4] "Whitney's entire fortune is said to have been spent in an attempt to realize his dream of a Pacific Railway, and the 'Prince of Projectors' to have kept a dairy and sold milk in Washington for a livelihood in his declining years." Davis's "The Union Pacific Railway," p. 33.

CHAPTER LVII

ANOTHER CAUSE THAT HELD BACK THE FIRST TRANSCONTINENTAL RAILWAY — NORTH AND SOUTH COULD NOT AGREE ON ITS LOCATION — THE REASON — SENATOR IVERSON'S SPEECH — A LAW IS FINALLY PASSED — THE QUESTION OF TRACK-WIDTH ARISES — THE CONFUSION OF EXISTING GAUGES — LINCOLN'S DECISION — CONGRESS REFUSES TO ACCEPT IT — ACTUAL WORK BEGINS — HOW IT WAS PERFORMED — A HISTORIC SCENE UP IN THE MOUNTAINS — THE PEOPLE LISTEN IN THE STREETS — THE OCEANS JOINED

THE political jealousies that contributed for twelve years to the delay in building a Pacific railway were intimately connected with those differences between the North and South which eventually resulted in civil war. Each of the two sections was striving to gain a preponderant power in shaping the political destiny of the country, and between them stood a small group of men who were trying by means of compromises to avert an appeal to arms. The relationship borne to this condition by the need of a modern transportation route through the recently obtained West is easily to be seen. The acquisition of much territory from Mexico, the constantly increasing overland migrations to the westward, and the visible necessity of creating new commonwealths in that region during the near future, made the geographical

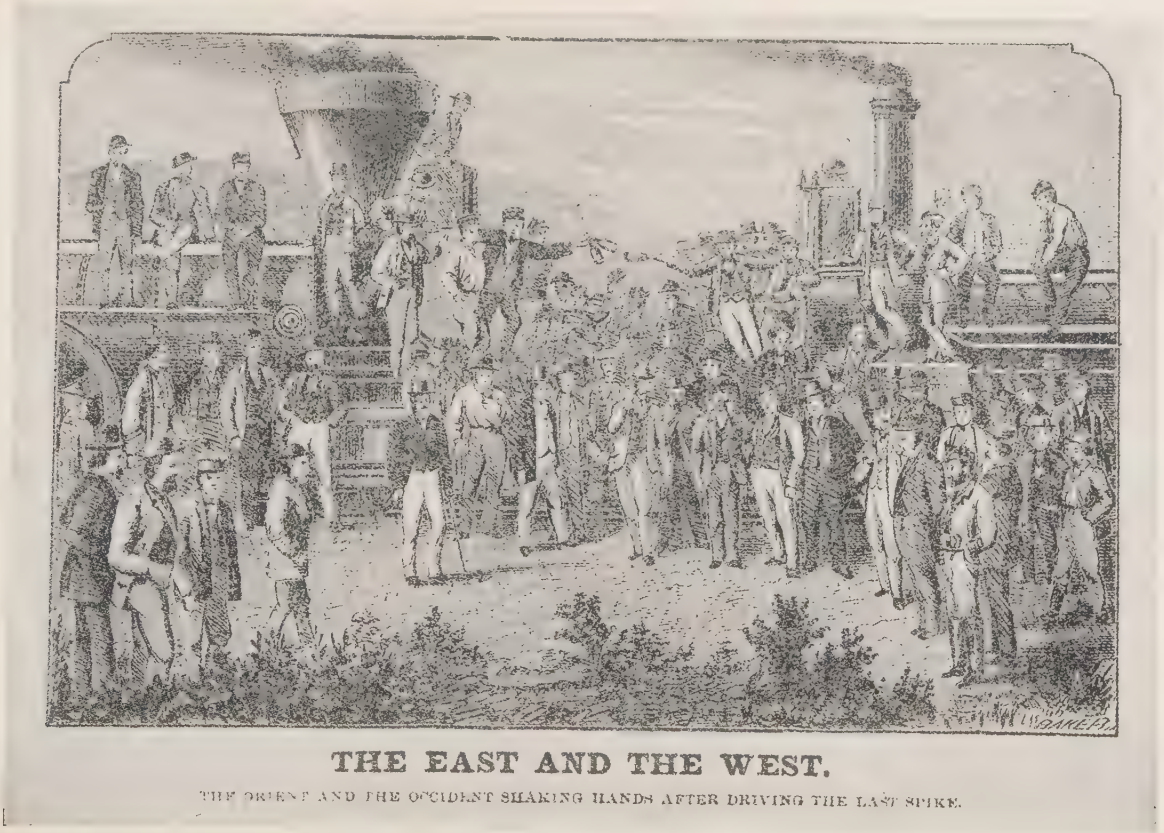
location of a Pacific railroad a matter of unusual importance. The North was already resolved that slavery should not be established in new states admitted to the Union, and the South was equally insistent that its economic system should be perpetuated to the westward in at least a sufficient number of new states to maintain its relative importance in governmental affairs. The natural result of those divergent purposes was a deadlock, and although each side was willing to see the construction of such a transcontinental road as would benefit its own position, neither could muster sufficient strength to gain its object prior to the military conflict.

The contending regions did, however, agree on one thing essential to the contemplated highway. Congress passed a law in 1853 providing for an elaborate survey of the whole country between the Mississippi and the Pacific Ocean, in order to determine through what region a railroad could most easily be built.[1] It was made by civil engineers of the War Department, and the summary of the work laid before Congress by Jefferson Davis, the Secretary of War, showed the sectional feeling then so closely related to the subject under consideration. The War Secretary said: "The route of the 32nd parallel is of those surveyed the most practicable and economical for a railroad from the Mississippi River to the Pacific Ocean."[2]

During the following years there was always a congressional majority favorable to the proposed railway in principle, but the acute sectional differences of the time

[1] The result of the survey is contained in eleven elaborate volumes constituting a comprehensive report not only on the geography of the western country, but also on the Indian life and the natural history of the West.

[2] Sen. Ex. Doc. No. 78, 33rd Congress, 2d Session. "The surveys made under Secretary Davis's authority were critically discussed in DeBow's Review for December, 1856 (Vol. 21, p. 555), and even by that representative periodical of Southern industry the conclusions of the Secretary were not endorsed."—Davis's "The Union Pacific Railway," p. 60, note.



395.—The driving of the last spike and meeting of the engines on May 10, 1869, at Promontory Point, Utah. Culmination of a process that had required two centuries and a half. The continent was spanned.

made it impossible to concentrate that majority on any definite proposition. In 1856 the Democratic party and the new-born Republican party endorsed the plan in their national platforms, and President Buchanan, in his inaugural address, advocated the building of a Pacific road by governmental action or aid.[1] The fundamental reason underlying the inability of Congress to agree on any specific proposal for the road has been well stated by the principal historian of the undertaking.[2] He said:

"Statesmen had tried to persuade themselves that a Pacific railway, as a national project, was a possibility, had tried to persuade themselves that there was a nation, but all the time, in the undertow of thought and feeling, there was too keen an appreciation of a want of unity and nationality."

An open avowal of the condition just defined, and of the relationship borne by the proposal to the existing political situation, was finally made by a candid southern senator[3] in the following words:

"If one road is provided for and the route is left open to be selected by the company who shall undertake it, a northern route will be adopted . . . pouring all its vast travel and freight . . . into the northern states and cities of the Union. . . I believe that the time will come when the slave states will be compelled, in vindication of their rights, interests and honor, to separate from the free states, and erect an independent Confederacy; and I am not sure, Sir, that the time is not near at hand when that event will occur. . . It is because I believe that separation is not far distant; because the signs of the times point too plainly to the early triumph of the Abolitionists, and their complete possession and control of every department of the Federal Government; and because I firmly believe that when such an event occurs the Union will be dissolved, that I am unwilling to vote as much land and as much money as this bill proposes to build a road to the Pacific, which, in my judgment, will be created outside of a southern Confederacy, and will belong exclusively to the North. The public lands now held by the United States, as well as the public treasury, are the joint property of

[1] But Buchanan, like nearly all other public men of that period, weakly chose to advocate the enterprise as a useful military work rather than as a great, vital undertaking whose value lay in its economical and social relationship to the country.
[2] Davis, in "The Union Pacific Railway," p. 82.
[3] Iverson of Georgia, on January 6, 1859.

all the states and the people of this Union. They belong to the South as well as to the North; we are entitled, in the Union, to our just and equal share, and if the Union is divided, then we are no less entitled to a fair proportion of the common fund. What I demand, therefore, is that the South shall be put upon an equality with the North, whether the Union lasts or not; that in appropriating the public lands and money, the joint property of all, in connecting the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans by railroad, the South shall have an equal chance to secure the road within her borders, to inure to her benefit whilst the Union lasts, and to belong to her when, if ever, that Union is dissolved."

The outbreak of the Civil War witnessed the disappearance from the national legislature of the principal opponents of a transcontinental route built by governmental aid, and on July 4, of 1862, President Lincoln signed a bill providing for the commencement of the long-discussed thoroughfare.[1] But the capitalists of the country declined to coöperate with the government under the law of 1862, and in 1864[2] it was materially amended[3] and construction work began soon afterward.

The importance and significance of the decision to build the first transcontinental railroad by Federal aid and under Federal charter has long been recognized, and its relationship to the chain of events considered in these pages is obvious. The enactments through which the decision was expressed were written in obedience to popular will; they were virtually ordered by the people. The laws also constituted an important manifestation of a slowly reviving opinion on the part of the people that certain things affecting their common interests could best be done by their collective power and effort, exerted through the machinery of the general government. The public seemed to be returning to a belief that in dealing

[1] The act provided that the work should be performed by two corporations known as the Union Pacific Railroad Company and the Central Pacific Railroad Company of California.

[2] By the act of July 2nd.

[3] A discussion of the legislation of 1862 and 1864, together with a financial and corporate history of the road, is contained in Davis's monograph previously named.

with social problems of nation-wide scope the Federal administration was in closer touch with the population, and better able to serve human needs with beneficial results, than were the numerous separate—and often antagonistic—state governments. The states had always been more or less inclined to inject local considerations, based on state boundary lines, into the discussion or proposed solution of economic questions whose nature made such efforts impractical. Whenever such an attempt was made to solve a country-wide economic problem by state statutes—rarely uniform in their provisions—the result was either a halting of human progress or the creation of undesirable conditions which persisted until the commonwealth reversed its attitude or until the national government intervened.[1]

The Federal laws creating the first transcontinental railway were, to put it briefly, a partial return by the nation to that position assumed between 1802 and 1824, when Congress ordained and built the National Road. It has been said of the two more modern measures: "The significance of the Pacific railway legislation is that it marks the high-water level of the flood of national power; it is part of the drift . . . that was left at the highest point on the shore, when the flood of nationality receded."[2]

Exception, it seems, may fairly be taken to this characterization of the laws of 1862 and 1864. The acts under which the National Road was extended into

[1] A characteristic case of the sort was the action of New York, Connecticut and New Jersey toward the use of steam and steamboats as agencies of travel and transportation. And while such an early demeanor toward an economic matter must necessarily be called a "state" attitude, since it was expressed by form of law and by accredited officials, yet when such an attitude is traced to its origin, its source can often be found with reasonable certainty in the selfish desires of a small group of locally influential men whose political power or personal fortunes were maintained or enhanced by the "state" pronouncement which they were able to dictate. Such groups gave support to one another on various well-known historical occasions when the interests of some special group were in danger, and perhaps that process went on more often than surviving evidence can indicate.

[2] Davis, p. 133.

396.—An occasional experience of travellers on the first Pacific railroad after it was finished. They still had to get out and help, in one way or another, as they had done in the days of the keel-boat, *Flying Machine* and stage-coach.

Indiana, Illinois and Missouri provided for its building, by the general government, through states and across state boundaries under willingness of the commonwealths so penetrated by it. It was a national work,[1] undertaken for purposes identical with those which inspired the first railway across the continent. Both were highways of movement, designed to bring separated parts of the population into closer social and economic relations. The first was brought into being in a manner already described, and paid for by direct appropriations of government funds. The later enterprise was built by a less direct exercise of national authority, through corporate instrumentalities created by the nation for the purpose, and to which the government delegated powers which it had in the previous instance used in its own person.[2] Consequently it appears that the earlier case, rather than the later one, marked the high-water level of national power as that

[1] The first Pacific railroad has also been so defined by the Federal Supreme Court. See "The United States vs. The Union Pacific Railroad Company," 91 U. S. R. 79.

[2] Such as the right, given the corporations, to carry the railroad through the states of Nebraska, Kansas and California, and across their boundaries.

strength was formerly used in carrying out similar undertakings.

The employment, by the Federal government, of those attributes of sovereignty necessarily displayed by it in the direct construction of the National Road resulted in fears or jealousies that found voice in "state" protests, and the enterprise was eventually made over to the several states through which it passed. The people, in other words, for a time employed their general government as the machinery by which they created and maintained an interstate public utility. Then considerations based to some extent on partisan politics were introduced into the subject, and that method of doing such work was abandoned practically at its beginning. No doubt the shift was also due, in some degree not now measurable, to a popular feeling that such procedure involved danger because of inexperience and a national lack of the engineering and administrative ability requisite for the best guidance of like undertakings. Perhaps the members of the electorate doubted their own ability to choose efficient and honest servants from among themselves as the heads of publicly owned utilities. There had arisen a popular fallacy that was already working serious harm to national character and progress, and which was destined to exert an identical influence for many years thereafter. The error in question was embodied in a political saying which ran: "To the victors belong the spoils." The assertion itself is true enough; the fallacy lay in a perverted meaning given to it by the politicians of that day and applied to the result of an election. The electors of a real democracy are always the victors in a discussion and plebiscite conducted to regulate their affairs, for its result expresses their common judgment on the questions at issue. And the spoils

which belong to them are the creation of conditions in accordance with the principles they have endorsed. But during the epoch in question "victors" meant only a part of the people, and those whose opinions had not been in accord with the result were "enemies." The "spoils" were not principles and improved conditions of society, but political office, to be bestowed exclusively on favored members of the "victorious" party with little or no consideration of their fitness for such enormous responsibility. Through the rise and widespread acceptance of this strange doctrine—so illustrative of the prevalent economic morality of the period—practically the whole purpose of government as an instrument designed by humanity for bettering its affairs was overthrown in the republic. Those excellencies of American character and condition which survived the era most acutely affected by the fallacy, endured in spite of rather than by the aid of the governmental system.

It was during this epoch that several states built and operated travel and traffic routes of various kinds whose existence was due, in part, to demands of party politics, and whose administrations as utilities were largely political in their nature. The failure of those that did fail was no doubt caused in some degree by faulty construction based on inadequate engineering skill, and partly by the destructive influence of the political idea just mentioned. During the same time, also, the corporation first became prominent in the business affairs of the country. It was an unfortunate age for the virtual birth and childhood of a commercial method so important, since the corporation was compelled to grow up in association with various political, business and economic ideas unfavorable to the strict maintenance of its own integrity. But the corpora-

tion grew apace, and was soon the principal factor—under state authorization—by which public utilities, including transportation routes, were built and operated. From that time until recent years the constantly growing corporation has naturally striven, with more than a modicum of success, to foster the early popular fear that the people themselves—through their government and chosen servants—could not successfully create and honestly administer those huge undertakings so necessary to modern society. It does not, however, necessarily follow that whatever inability was displayed by the people and their governmental machinery from sixty to ninety years ago—because of contemporary conditions and beliefs heretofore described—would be manifest to-day or in the future, should the people again decide to use their state or Federal governments as instruments for economic purposes. Whatever of failure or success they might now or hereafter attain in such enterprises would be determined by their education, experiences, desires and practises.[1]

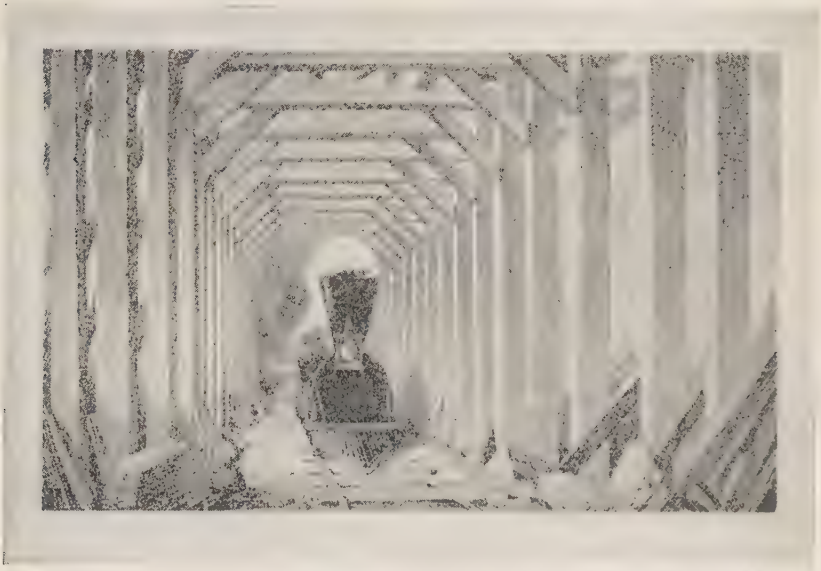
The first transcontinental railroad was built by two corporations which were created by Congress with that object in view, and to them were loaned the credit and resources of the nation. The people, in that particular case, delegated their strength instead of using their powers in direct application to the work in hand and thus acquiring ownership of the finished product.

After the government had decided for the building of a road to the Pacific under a plan based on the use of national resources there still remained one essential detail of the project that demanded action by Federal authority

[1] The recent building of the Panama Canal by the United States, under the immediate direction of Federal engineers, suggests the present capacity of the national machinery in undertaking enterprises demanding a large degree of constructive, executive and administrative ability.

Since the foregoing text was written the government has also decided to build, equip, own and operate a railroad in Alaska.

before any construction work was possible. The gauge of the railway had to be fixed, and the effort to decide on a track-width resulted in a political and sectional dispute similar to those which had so often occurred during the preliminary discussions of the previous years.[1]



397.—Method of protecting trains from avalanches in the Sierra Nevada Mountains. Many miles of snow sheds had to be built.

The number of different gauges used by the railways of the country had so multiplied that during the seventh decade at least a dozen—and probably more—track-widths were employed in various sections, nearly every one of which was represented by several hundred or several thousand miles of line.[2] Many of the New England roads still adhered to the gauge of four feet eight and a half inches, and the series of roads through central New

[1] "Even the gauge of the track could not be determined without hours of debate, persistent lobbying, and a full measure of political chicanery." Davis, p. 113.

[2] A list of representative railroads in all parts of the country, showing the divergencies of gauge at the time, is contained in an appendix.

York State—previously assembled under one corporate control—together with connecting lines reaching westward along the shore of Lake Erie and through Michigan, were built in similar fashion. So were nearly all the roads in the neighborhood of Chicago and those extending westward to and through the state of Iowa. There were also various isolated roads in other parts of the country which had adopted the gauge here mentioned.

In some parts of New Jersey and Pennsylvania, in nearly all of Ohio, and in portions of Indiana and Illinois, a track-width of four feet and ten inches was in use. All the railways of the South were five feet wide, and that gauge had likewise been adopted in California by a state enactment. The Erie road in New York; the Atlantic and Great Western through New York, Pennsylvania and Ohio; the Ohio and Mississippi road through Ohio, Indiana and Illionis were all six feet wide, as were various other lines in New Jersey and elsewhere. Many of the roads in the Southwest and in Missouri were built with a gauge of five feet and a half.[1] All sorts of other and apparently inexplicable gauges[2] existed throughout the whole eastern region, making any approach to an effective national railway system an impossibility while such a condition continued. Up to and including the decade in question the multiplication of railways in America had not resulted in a simplification of the gauge problem, as might have been expected—or as assuredly would have been the case had the railroad building of the

[1] This group included the Missouri Pacific, extending westward from St. Louis, and a possible important factor in the transcontinental route to be created.

[2] Such as 4 feet 9½ inches; 4 feet 5½ inches; 4 feet 7 inches; 5 feet 4 inches; 4 feet 8 inches; 4 feet 9¼ inches and 4 feet 3 inches. In addition to all the different American gauges, an English parliamentary commission had recommended the establishment of a standard track-width of five feet and three inches, and Canada was building her railways with a gauge of five and a half feet. It is thus apparent that one of the most serious questions relating to the physical structure of railways was still a matter of dispute and widely divergent practise more than thirty years after the commencement of the railway epoch.

country been directed by a continental policy—but on the contrary the widespread divergencies in track-width had produced a confusion that was depriving the railroad system of the country of a large part—perhaps half—of its potential value. Some strong influence was imperatively needed to rectify the conditions described, and the creation of the transcontinental road was destined to become that influence.

Under the act of 1862 the President of the United States was authorized to fix the gauge of the Pacific road. When President Lincoln was informed of the responsibility placed upon him he said he would be pleased to comply with the law if he only knew what the best gauge was. Severe political pressure was brought to bear upon him in behalf of several of the gauges then in use. Missouri urged five and a half feet, Chicago and New York advocated four feet eight and a half inches, California demanded five feet, and so serious did the fight become that Lincoln actually called a cabinet meeting to consider the question. Finally he settled on the California gauge of five feet, and issued a proclamation in accordance with his decision. But the President's ruling—so urgently sought before he gave it—was not accepted. The quarrel was transferred to Congress, and at last, after eight months of contention, that body in March of 1863 passed a law naming four feet eight and a half inches as the gauge for the Pacific Railroad.

It is very likely that this action, more than any other one event in railroad history, was the determining factor in establishing the prevailing and so-called standard railroad gauge. All the roads of the country not built in accordance with that decision saw the necessity of track alteration if they were to participate directly in trans-

continental traffic and enjoy its benefits. The necessary physical transformation began almost at once, and continued until the declared governmental standard became universal.

Work on the enterprise was begun at both its ends.

398.—A transcontinental train cheered in its passage by the workmen who had built the road. From a sketch by the artist Joseph Becker.

The Central Pacific began to built eastward from Sacramento in 1864, and fifty-six miles of track had been laid down by the beginning of 1866. The Union Pacific began to build westward from Omaha, and by January, 1866, had completed its first forty miles of track. From that time on progress was rapid, although the actual builders labored under unusual difficulties. Those men who were advancing westward from Omaha were compelled to haul

all their building and commissary supplies overland from Iowa, and the track layers who were marching toward the East had to bring much of their material to the scene of their work across the Isthmus of Panama or around Cape Horn.[1] A description of the scenes and methods attending the advance of the railway was published in pamphlet form by the Union Pacific road in the summer of 1868, and read thus:[2]

"There is nothing connected with the Union Pacific Railroad that is not wonderful. The possibility of constructing such a road at some future day has long loomed up as one of the events of a grander future which all believed was to come for the land. . . What the country has dreamed about for many years is becoming a reality much faster than the people know. One year ago but forty miles were finished. To-night three additional miles of rail will mark the track of the day's advance. . .

"The train, which was made up for the excursionists, consisted of cars as elegant as any that can be found east of the Missouri. It was very difficult to look at them and realize that before night they would be roaring along over plains from which hostile Indians, deer and antelope have not yet been driven.[3] . . . The surface is almost perfectly flat, though its regular ascent toward the west, of about ten feet to the mile, gives ample drainage. The soil is very rich, and the mind falters in its attempt to estimate the future of such a valley, or its immense capabilities. The grain fields of Europe are mere garden patches beside the green oceans which roll from Colorado to Indiana. . . The hills behind sink into the plain until the horizon there is perfect. Those on either side grow fainter, till through the heated air they take on the appearance of low islands seen across many miles of water.

"Much of the land at the mouth of the valley is under cultivation, and the deep black of the freshly turned loam, the dark green of the wheat, the lighter grass, the deeper shades, and the brown of that which the fires of the autumn spared, make the wide expanse a mosaic which nature alone could color, and the prairies only find room to display. Further on, huge plows, drawn by eight oxen, labored slowly along,

[1] The bulk of the labor necessary in the building of the Central Pacific portion of the line was performed by Chinese coolies. Most of the work on the Union Pacific was done by Irish immigrants.

[2] From the "Union Pacific Railroad Company . . . Progress of Their Road," etc., etc., pp. 8-12. The description here quoted was written by a correspondent of the "Cincinnati Gazette," who inspected the progress of the undertaking in June of 1868. The correspondent's letter to his newspaper was incorporated by the railroad in its pamphlet, which was issued a few weeks later.

[3] Popular opinion that Indians were interlopers with which America had become infested, along with other species of desirable and undesirable fauna, was then so deeply implanted as to forbid expectation of change.

each furrow being an added ripple to the tide which is sweeping up over all these rich regions—a tide whose ebb the youngest will never know.

"The common mileposts seem to measure insignificant distances upon the wide plains. Only each five miles are noted on this road, and when one has passed between two of these, the step taken hardly appears like an advance. But there is one point marked in a manner to suggest the distance which has been overcome, and the gigantic character of the work. At a point in the plain, which otherwise seems as indeterminate as the position of a floating log at sea, a wide, arched sign, between two strong-set posts, bears this inscription: '100th meridian.' . . .

"Within twenty miles of the end of the track a few of the party rode on the cow-catcher. It seemed marvelous to drive on at twenty miles an hour over rails that had only been down for ten days. . . Three hundred and twenty-five miles out, a construction train of eighty cars stood on a side track. It was loaded with iron, ties, spikes, and chains, in exactly such proportions as were needed. It looked the very embodiment of system, and was one key to the rapidity with which the work progresses. A little farther on stood a similar train, and next we stopped in rear of the one where the tracklayers resided.

"The road had been a constant wonder from the start. . . But all we saw was commonplace and natural beside the scene that awaited us where the track was being laid. If the rest had excited amazement, this new wonder took all the attributes of magic. Fictions of the East must be rewritten to match the realities of this West. . .

"The plain fact will reveal the magnitude of the work. The graders go first. There are 2,000 of them. Their advance is near the Black Hills, and their work is done to Julesburgh. Of the tie-getters and woodchoppers there are 1,500. Their axes are resounding in the Black Hills, over Laramie Plains, and in the passes of the Rocky Mountains. They have 100,000 ties in these hills awaiting safeguards [soldiers] for trains to haul them. Then follow the tie-layers, carefully performing their share of the work.

"Now go back twenty miles on the road, and look at the immense construction trains, loaded with ties and rails, and all things needed for the work. It is like the grand reserve of an army. Six miles back are other trains of like character. These are the second line. Next, near the terminus, and following it hour by hour, are the boarding cars and a construction train, which answer to the actual battle line. The one is the camp; the other is the ammunition used in the fight. The boarding cars are each eighty feet long. Some are fitted with berths; two are dining halls; one is a kitchen, store room and office.

"The boarding cars go in advance. They are pushed to the extremity of the track; a construction train then runs up, unloads its material and starts back to bring another from the second line. . . The trucks, each

drawn by two horses, ply between the track-layers and their supplies. One of these trucks takes on a load of rails, about forty, with the proper proportion of spikes and chairs, making a load, when the horses are started off on a full gallop for the track-layers. On each side of these trucks are rollers to facilitate running off the iron.

"The rails within reach, parties of five men stand on either side. One in the rear throws a rail upon the rollers, three in advance seize it and run out with it to the proper distance. The chairs have, meantime, been set under the last rails placed. The two men in the rear, with a single swing, force the end of the rail into the chair, and the chief of the squad calls out 'Down,' in a tone that equals the 'Forward' to an army. Every thirty seconds there came that brave 'Down,' 'Down,' on either side the track. They were the pendulum beats of a mighty era. . .

"If it is asked, 'How does the work get on?' again let the facts answer. On the 9th of May, 1866, but forty miles of road were completed. In a hundred and eighty-two working days thereafter, two hundred and forty-five additional miles were laid. . . From one o'clock till four in the afternoon, a mile and two hundred feet were added to this while the party was looking on."

The Central Pacific Company laid down 689 miles of track eastward from Sacramento, and the Union Pacific corporation built 1,086 miles westward from Omaha. The people of all the states watched the progress of the undertaking with constantly increasing interest, and their enthusiasm and expectancy steadily grew as the two groups of builders gradually drew closer together. Early in the spring of 1869 it became apparent that the work would very soon be finished, and that the two sections of track would be connected amid the Rocky Mountains of Utah. By the first week in May only a few miles of the road remained uncompleted, and it was possible to select the precise spot where the lines of rails would meet, and the day on which the ceremonies attending that event might occur. A location known as Promontory Point was chosen as the meeting place, and the tenth of May was designated as the date.

Finally the morning of the appointed day arrived,

and between the rails that stretched to the Atlantic Ocean and those which extended to the Pacific there remained a gap of about one hundred feet. All the ties were in place save at the center of the gap, where the space designed for one wooden cross-piece still remained unoc-

399.—The mingling of the people. Drawn by the artist Thomas Hogan.

cupied. Then, simultaneously, the Orientals from the West and the Caucasians from the East advanced toward each other, placing the missing links of steel. At their heels followed the spectators, edging forward step by step. Some six hundred people composed the throng, which included white Americans, Irish workmen, Chinese in blue blouses, negroes, and Mexicans in tall sombreros. There was also a little group of Indians. The last tie—a piece of laurel-wood from California—was put in position, and the last two rails were laid. One was fastened

down with its full complement of ten iron spikes and the other with seven.

Then Nevada presented a spike of silver which was driven home, and Arizona gave her like offering made of iron, silver and gold. But one more spike remained—the "last spike" of gold—and it was to be given by California.

All the country knew what was to happen that day in the western mountains. During twenty years the people had debated the possibility of spanning the continent by an iron highway, and for five more years they had watched the progress of the work. The task was almost done. It was no longer a matter of decades or years, but of hours—half an hour—five minutes—one minute. Unnumbered multitudes had everywhere gathered to await the appointed signal, for it had been arranged that the blows of the sledge on the last spike should be communicated afar by electricity, and that the impulse so sent should ring countless bells in distant cities. So, on that May morning, the streets of San Francisco, New York, Cincinnati, St. Louis, Chicago, New Orleans, Omaha, Detroit, Boston, Philadelphia, Washington, Sacramento and every other center of importance throughout the country were filled with silent, waiting throngs.

The six hundred spectators up in the mountains crowded more closely together, and the two engines crept nearer to each other. The men who were to wield the silver sledge took their places beside the rail. A caution sped over the wires saying: "To everybody. Keep quiet. When the last spike is driven at Promontory Point we will say 'Done.' Don't break the circuit, but watch for the signals of the blows of the hammer." Several other

brusque communications followed at intervals of a minute or so. The first of them said:

"Almost ready. Hats off. Prayer is being offered."

Then this came from Promontory Point into the waiting world:

"We have got done praying. The spike is about to be presented."

And finally: "All ready now."

Down to the people in the streets came the sound of bells, slow and measured, and they knew the meaning of the cadence. To each note of the brazen clangor they responded with a fierce and exultant shout that was cut off abruptly so they might not dim the message for which they listened. It told them that the task begun nearly two centuries and a half before was finished. There was to be no more loneliness; no more sections. The oceans were joined, and all who dwelt between them might at last be neighbors and friends in a real sense. Never again could distance or isolation be decisive factors in the life, social conditions, culture or opportunities of the people. All might mingle with one another, get really acquainted, discover mutual needs, and work in better harmony for the common advancement. Such was the realization that swept over the multitudes as they lifted up their rhythmic shouts in answer to the bells. It was as though they were chanting the last, triumphant words in a long epic of human endeavor. And if those of future times should seek for a day on which the country at last became a nation, and for an event by virtue of which its inhabitants became one people, it may be that they will not select the verdict of some political campaign or battle-field but choose, instead, the hour when two engines—one from the East and the other from the West—met at Promontory.

An example of the observation cars used on the first trans-continental railroad in 1869. They resembled modern coal cars with seats. 12mo. Col. Lith. Amer.

CHAPTER LVIII

SUMMARY OF PRESENT CONDITIONS

THE opening of a modern travel highway across the continent marked the end of a work that began when English speaking white men landed on the shores of Virginia and Massachusetts. With its completion a destiny was realized, and the spirit in which the people saw the event showed that they divined its significance. The event itself, coming while the memory of the tremendous civil conflict remained undimmed, offered the first opportunity, since that struggle, to reveal a longing for real national solidarity.

The contrast between the new economic conquest and the recent war was a happy omen. One had been born of sectional differences, errors and misunderstanding whose origins reached far back into history. As a consequence of its outbreak the young nation had hung on the brink of dissolution, and its continuance spelled for a period the destruction of ties created by more than two hundred years of association in earlier times of need and trouble. The new conquest, on the other hand, was a common effort for the good of all. Its steady progress had been marked, not by disruption, devastation and sorrow, but by visions of closer intercourse, kindlier feeling and increased prosperity. Through it the desert places were to be made populous and fruitful. Its purpose was not to sever but to unite. By its aid all the communities of the land, however distant, were to become neighbors, and

every city was to acquire a new relation to all the others and have its own larger duty to perform. There could be no more sections in the old and jealous sense, for in new days to come the mingling of the people was to bring upon them a fuller realization of their essential brotherhood. That was the prophecy borne by the ringing of bells and thunder of cannon loaded with powder only, and by the shrill exultant shout which sped from one ocean to the other within a moment of time. The inhabitants of America already aspired to an enduring unity, and their aspiration was transmuted into fact in the hour when comprehension of the one way to attain it swept over them.

Since that day the people have progressed somewhat in the path on which they then entered. At times they have strayed from it because of carelessness, and sometimes they have been beguiled from the safe road by the lure of ease or selfish gain, for the right way is hard, and must be cleared for every advance. But they have always come back to the new path, and to-day, more than ever before, there is appreciation that real union and the highest degree of general welfare is best sought by an intermingling of all the people, by their unselfish recognition of mutual needs and responsibilities, and courage to meet the obligations which time, new conditions and close associations have placed upon them.

Without that free and constant intercourse of the population brought about as a direct result of improved methods in continental travel and communication, the great invisible components of enduring nationality could hardly have been called into being. A region so immense, whose geographical and industrial conditions afford such contrasts and whose sectional needs and methods are so

diverse, presents a very serious problem to the power of social coherence and to a desire for social advancement. It is quite likely that the political fabric of nationality would have become unwieldy and difficult of advantageous preservation had it not been enormously reinforced, throughout its whole extent, by a communication system which has created the saving sense of neighborliness to which reference has been made. Considered as a political structure the union is venerable of years, but as a people welded into one organism through the instrumentality of common purposes, desires and hopes, the nation is young indeed. These are still the days of its childhood. It is even now coming into a first realization of its own strength, and does not yet know how to use it. But if the mistakes and strange experiences of youth are not forgotten they will be of profit in the future, and wisdom will eventually invoke and guide the giant's power.

During the months immediately following the completion of the first transcontinental railroad a number of eastern cities showed their understanding of its meaning by sending delegations of their citizens on visits of neighborly friendship to San Francisco. Among the Atlantic communities which so acted was Boston, and in May of 1870 a hundred people from that city travelled to the Pacific coast in six days,[1] borne thence without change of cars. The journey then undertaken was at that time the longest yet made on any continent over continuous lines of rails. Those who took it were carried between the two oceans in less than half the interval Mistress Knight had required in going from Boston to New York. They moved across the country without effort of their own, in apartments

[1] Including halts in Chicago and elsewhere. Another delegation, composed of representatives of the civic and mercantile bodies of Cincinnati, also made a similar trip.

made beautiful by tapestries and carved woods. The sunlight did not come to them through paper coated with bear's grease, but through windows of plate glass. Their food was kept in refrigerators; they ate, with implements of silver, from fragile dishes that stood on rare mahogany. At night they did not lie down on warped puncheons, but in comfortable beds. They had a barber shop, baths, a music room, two libraries. They even had a printing establishment and a daily four-page newspaper that was written, put into type, printed and published every morning[1] in a section of their moving hotel. And in the eighth issue of their newspaper its editor mentioned the charming view they had enjoyed one evening, as they descended the mountains and looked down on a little sheet of water called Donner Lake. "It nestles," he said, "at the base of the mountain, and we gazed with pleasure on its clear, crystal surface, tinted with cerulean blue reflected from the cloudless vault of Heaven." Then the night fell, the brief glimpse at the beautiful lake was forgotten, and the travellers strolled in to dinner. Afterward, as was usual, they gathered for an hour or two with their books and their music.

Forty-four years have passed since America was crossed in six days by the Boston excursionists. The interval in question has been a period of extraordinary advancement in those matters pertaining to the subject here considered, but for perhaps half of that time—or until about 1890—it was not distinguished by the general adoption of any new or revolutionary methods of locomotion. Until recent years, rather, the period that has elapsed since the joining of the oceans has been charac-

[1] The first daily newspaper ever so created. It was called the "Trans-Continental." A complete file consists of twelve numbers, for it was also printed during the return trip of the party, on the same train, in June.

erized mainly by the extension or improvement of those transportation methods which were then in active use. All the energy of the country was for some time devoted to a utilization and refinement of devices already known. Every nook and corner of the country had to be penetrated by the railways before the nation had at its disposal all the service they—as at present constituted—could render. And, in addition, the railway as an engineering and mechanical implement had to be perfected.

Only in name and elementary principles is the railroad of 1914 identical with the railway of 1870. The adoption of the air brake, block system, better roadbeds, the automatic coupler and enormously increased motive power, together with the introduction of heavy cars and a multitude of human conveniences has transformed the passenger-carrying service of our steel highways. Accidents are no longer looked upon as "acts of God," or unavoidable. Practically every occurrence of that sort is today considered by the people, the authorities, and by the railways themselves, as proof of prior human carelessness either in the construction process, administrative regulation, inspection or operation of the road on which it takes place. The existing attitude toward accidents is a sane one. Its adoption by the Federal government and by the present railway administrators of the country would doubtless have wrought a decrease in the calamities which for so many years have been a blot on the railroad system of the country had not the system as a whole been compelled to labor under a severe handicap imposed on it by lack of foresight, greed, and financial wrong.

The American people are no longer designedly unfair —except to themselves. Their habit is to be patient in the endurance of many kinds of imposition. They submit to

counterfeit domination for periods longer than those during which other peoples tolerate similar unnecessary conditions; hoping each time, apparently, that the cause of irritation will be voluntarily removed by those responsible. When the situation becomes unbearable there arises a murmur of remonstrance the significance of which, despite many precedents, is rarely grasped by the ones toward whom it is directed. The will of this people—when determination to alter an existing economic condition has been reached—is not at once expressed in the phraseology of excitement or command, but in words of suggestion and entreaty. Opponents of a slowly formed popular judgment who disregard that apparent appeal and wait for further verbal outcry before giving compliance, await in vain. The next step of the public is quiet action. Threats are the weapons of the weak, and have no useful place in the relations between a people and those to whom the details of its well-being are entrusted. No man whose duties affect for good or evil the welfare of his fellow citizens; no institution whose conduct is similarly potent, is worthy of responsibility and power if amenable to threats and fear alone. Selfish standards have been cast aside and we are on the up-grade again. Our future motor of action is to be a sense of fairness geared to practicality. The schemer—whether personal or corporate—who seeks unfair advantage through devious ways will be stripped of his authority, while he who gives himself with open record and right purpose to any work whose legitimate functions contribute to the general good, will receive the trust of his fellow men.

It has been said there is no indication that the railways of the country would willingly revert to those days of their history so marred by unfair discrimination against in-

dividuals, cities and sections. Indeed, there are indications[1] that they rejoice, with the public, at their emancipation from such practises and regret that they were not able to bring the period of corruption to an end without assistance. But some of them are still confronted by another opportunity, equally large, wherein to display a newly acquired moral strength and thereby gain, in greater degree, the public confidence which is not yet wholly theirs. They can further improve their position by withdrawing from participation in political affairs and questionable financial transactions, and by confining themselves to the complex and increasingly important problem of transporting the people and commodities of the nation —the task for which they were primarily designed.

It is probable that the quality of service which can be given by American railways, as far as speed and luxury of travel are concerned, has reached the limit of excellence permitted by their present physical constitution. The brief age of steam is approaching its end, and the long age of electricity is near at hand. As a matter of fact the ability of electrical engineers to alter the conditions of travel and transportation is already somewhat in advance of opportunites presented for its exercise. For some years they have been prepared to build and operate electrically propelled trains at a speed of perhaps a hundred miles an hour[2] if there were roadbeds capable of bearing the shock represented by such a velocity. The existing American roadbeds were designed only to uphold steam travel at the rate of forty or fifty miles an hour, with about sixty miles as the limit of safety for regular

[1] Despite frequent revelation of discriminations and other improper acts practised by roads that are still burdened by evil administration.

[2] In the well-known German experiments a speed of about one hundred and thirty miles an hour was attained by electrical vehicles on a railed track for a short distance.

traffic on the best constructed tracks.[1] Even those speeds are much in excess of the average schedules for passenger service throughout the country, and it is not desirable that we acquire travel facilities swifter than those at present available until suitable roadbeds are established for the hundred-miles-an-hour electrical trains. The fact that we could even now move over the country at such a velocity, and yet do not do so, furnishes another instance of the "progress backward" method of evolution in land transportation. The hundred-miles-an-hour motor and vehicle are waiting, but the road for them is not yet built. Nor will it be constructed for a considerable period to come.

Instead of a further search for speed, another and more important need confronts the nation. The recent perfection and widespread adoption of mechanical vehicles designed for use on land highways—after experimentation lasting about a century—has made it necessary to rebuild a large proportion of all existing American land roads in order that the whole economic value of the revolutionary improvement may be made available. To this task the country is already turning, perhaps with a haste that may breed unnecessary waste and error. But enough experience has already been gained to show that permanent, scientifically constructed and hard-surfaced highways are essential for the purpose in view, and that public funds—from whatever treasury supplied—are wasted if devoted to the maintenance of existing dirt roads or others not created in accord with the modern practise of road laying. The work to be done is not one of repair or of improvement, but of original building by

[1] The recent American tendency has been to decrease the speed of express trains, rather than to increase it.

engineers from foundation upward. Its cost will be vast, and its benefits are destined to be still greater.

One factor of present-day American life that for some time has been exercising an influence in restraining both the speed and frequency of human movement is the omnipresence of the telegraph and telephone. Those devices have in some degree made physical travel unnecessary. Instead of going in person to conduct negotiations or to make visits we send our words or voices only, and keep our bodies at home. In the days of 1870 if an emergency called an eastern man to the Middle West he went in person, and was three or four days on the road. To-day, in similar case, he remains seated at his desk and in two minutes is talking with the other man in St. Louis, Chicago, Council Bluffs, Little Rock, Minneapolis or Denver. That also is travel, though of a species not imagined by the men who pushed pole-boats, guided pack-trains through the wilderness and drifted down the rivers on their arks. They could be in only one place at a time, and had hard work to get there. To-day we can be at both ends of a long pilgrimage in the same instant. When they were separated in the woods their halloos might carry for half a mile. We whisper and laugh at one another across distances that meant journeys of months to them. They fought their way on foot through forests and deserts and mountains. We can fly through the air from ocean to ocean and gaze down on the cities they founded.[1] Their log cabins are gone, and we sit amid wires, push-buttons and tubes by which we summon light, heat, water, food, drink, absent friends, messenger boys, motor-cars and music, as our fancy wills.

[1] Rodgers, an American aviator, flew from the Atlantic to the Pacific across the United States, in 1911. His actual flying time—he made many stops—was about three days and ten hours, and his average speed while flying was about fifty-one and a half miles an hour. He was the first human who crossed a continent through the air.

The recent accomplishment of human flight[1] is a feat so tremendous that—even as we see the thing performed—it still seems a figment of the fancy; an absurd hallucination. When the little speck has disappeared we look down and observe the tracks made by the apparatus while it still clung to earth. Then the tracks stop. The ton of machinery that was lately there has vanished. It is somewhere above, rushing forward at eighty or a hundred miles an hour in a place where there are no tracks, yet guided amid the clouds by human intellect.

A certain apparent popular indifference to man-flight which is already visible—the seemingly matter-of-fact acceptance of such a deed—is perhaps not so real as it appears. The human race has been so mentally benumbed by its own performances that this last wonder is not yet grasped—and may never be. The limit of our comprehension had been reached before it came. We have entered, as was said in the beginning, upon an era wherein the impossible has become commonplace, and the average man, in instinctive self-protection of his sanity, no longer gives deep consideration to those conditions with which he is surrounded or to the powers harnessed by genius for his benefit. The average mind already shrinks from effort to assimilate what eyes behold and hands use, and so, hereafter, we must accept much of what is done for us without understanding, content to let a few work in regions not for us, while we casually employ what they bestow. Those who hereafter become benefactors of the race through invention and discovery in the fields of physical and mechanical science are destined to find their large reward within their own thoughts.

[1] By the Americans, Wilbur Wright and Orville Wright. There are now (1914) nearly eight thousand men in the world who can fly.

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400.—The old Indian trail of 1675 across New Jersey as it appeared on the morning of June 13, 1910. Hamilton, the aviator, on his flight from New York City to Philadelphia, overhauling a railroad train running at 50 miles an hour. First trip of an aeroplane made in accordance with a previously announced schedule.

Our only measure of a man's greatness—whatever his task may be—lies in our limited ability to appreciate what he has done and to comprehend the value of his work. If our understanding cannot grasp what he has accomplished, or follow him over the unfamiliar road along which he has moved to his victory, then our measure fails. We take what he gives and are pleased, or we cast it aside, but we do not see the man as he is. Thus it has always been, and much more often will it be so in the future. It is not because we are thoughtless, or ungrateful. It is because we have so many other things to think about, and to do.

It is perhaps not unfair to say that the mass of men constituting the last pioneer generations of America are in some respects more remote from us—through the broadening of our knowledge horizon and our increased power to do things—than they were from the men of the Glacial Epoch. So overwhelming has been man's accumulation of understanding and collective strength during the last three generations that, in respect of mastery over material conditions, we are giants in comparison with them. Yet in one regard their work was more splendid than ours has since been, for they—despite their relative ignorance and incapacity—advanced in the span of one lifetime from forest trails and flatboats to turnpikes, canals and railroads; whereas we, with our indescribably greater powers, have until now made no widespread improvement in our highways, have forgotten the rivers, have neglected many of the canals they created,[1] and have misused the railroads they introduced. But we are awakening, and soon we, too, shall be at our task with an awesome strength. It is needful.

[1] The extensive improvement of the Erie Canal, now in progress, is a noteworthy exception.

The pioneers have gone. Boone, Fitch, Evans, Tecumseh, Watson, Schultz, Clinton, Cuming, Shreve, Dearborn, Stevens, Strickland, Baldwin, Bruen, Pilcher, Roosevelt, Parker, Berry, Crockett, Floyd, La Barge, Smith, Bunting, Applegate, Whitney, Donner, Abbey—all the dreamers and the workers and wanderers have played their parts and disappeared. We are the custodians of their prodigious legacies, and we, in our turn, must pass them on—made better or worse by our use and stewardship.

In one respect we have failed to progress in like degree with the pioneers, and so our chiefest contribution to the swelling inheritance of the nation has not yet been made. We have not heretofore accompanied our new strength with a corresponding advance in those invisible standards by which it should be guided. The inward development has lagged behind, and so we live amid devices fashioned by us and theoretically subject to our direction, by whose better employment we might lift ourselves to a higher plane of common happiness and comfort, yet do not fully utilize them. We are not the masters of our environment and implements to the extent that the pioneers were. The complex economic machinery we have created has to some degree imperceptibly slipped from our common control into the hands of a few who have misapplied it and stolen its usefulness for their own enrichment. We have been wounded by the splendid tools that we ourselves have slowly fashioned for our own improvement. Not until we alter that condition, and regulate their future use by impulses and methods correspondingly fine will we reap the full benefits of the centuries and toil spent in their making.

The concrete machinery of our social organization—

of which the existing transportation system is a part—is in principle competent for its task. So if it fails, or is ineffective, then the cause of its inefficiency must be sought in us and the methods of our manipulation, and not in it. We have been careless, have suffered spoliation in consequence, and are destined to pay still more. For some unfortunate effects of our laxity have probably penetrated too deeply into all our affairs to make their eradication possible without injuring the innocent more than the guilty. Those who have filched treasure from their brothers sit secure among their spoils, beyond reach of retribution save the verdict of self-contemplation and the calm judgment of their fellow men. Perhaps that will be sufficient.

As an atonement for the neglect of our affairs it now devolves on us to find within ourselves whatever degree of self-restraint may be required by present conditions, and, through the manifestation of statesmanship by all men, hereafter prove ourselves worthy to control our natural and created riches.

To one who has followed the story of progress and historical development that has been outlined in these pages must come the question: What do the approaching years contain? It is idle to speculate; rash to predict. Once more it is fitting to say that only those who are indeed great can see the future with certainty, and if there are any such amongst us they are silent. Perhaps they shrink from the laughter sure to greet their words if they did speak. Very likely we too would say of such a one: "Poor fellow; what a pity he is crazy." Human nature has in some particulars remained about the same. We prefer to prophesy a thing the day after we see it performed.

As we sit at meat in moving hotels which travel fifty miles an hour and look out upon the panorama that drops so swiftly away, or as we hear a strange sound above and gaze up into the sky we behold visions of the coming days that are not put into speech. We are afraid to whisper them. They may be dreams, or may not be. We prefer to wait and see. But of one thing we are sure, and can say it without fear. The preliminary work has been done. It has been a long, hard march from 1620 to 1914, but some of the results have been worth while. Almost every possible mistake has already been made, and so it only remains to correct their present effects wherever we can and avoid repetition of them hereafter. The present generation need not strike a pose on a pedestal of vainglory and mesmerize itself into a belief that ultimate perfection has been approximately reached. Such a thought would contain a prolific germ of error, nor is it likely to be entertained.

As we look back into the past we begin to see that the features of those times most important to us, and which have most deeply impressed their influence on these years, were not the wars waged by men but the influences and moral attributes—whether for good or evil—which impelled them to do what they did in the more ordinary affairs of life. Within and among ourselves we behold the complex result of former conflicting standards of belief and action. We see much to be regretted, and to be altered before we can reach the plane to which we aspire. May it not be well for us and for those who are to follow if we, as a people, henceforward study our past national life with more thought for the relationships which have always existed between our standards of conduct and our permanent and best material welfare.

As we bustle back and forth we do not seek to build merely for an hour or a generation. There is also an ever present duty that can only be seen by standing in imagination among the unborn hosts and gazing back to now. Our lives are likewise to be told, and when they are recorded it will give us more worthy rank if it can be said of us, not that we were the first men to fly through the air, but that we were the first to recognize the highest value of history as a teacher and to prove it by our own deeds.

The wearying, slow, preparatory work has been performed. Behind us is an interesting record that, even with its tragedy and blunders, is an inspiration to the genius of men. Persistent effort is always an inspiration, even though its results are small. Much has been done, and various things remain to be undone. A new era is beginning whose chief characteristics in every field of endeavor are to be a finer wisdom, a smaller selfishness, and a more sincere thought for the comfort, safety, happiness and welfare of all the people. In the attainment of those things there lies a triumph worth more to the nation than that which will proceed from the discovery and use of forces and utilities yet unimagined. This epilogue is only the prologue of another, prouder and still more wonderful history that is surely destined to be written on some far day of the future. Our air-ships are the symbols of a new aspiration. Henceforth the travels of mankind are not to be across mountain and forest; but upward, through realms they have beheld but dimly from below.

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APPENDIX A

A list of ninety-five of the early railways of the United States, together with certain information relating to their organization, first use by the public, length, cost, and source of income is here given.

In order that the value of such records might be extracted from them it was necessary to group the facts in tabular form, in the shape of statistics. For that reason they could not well be introduced into the body of these volumes. Yet the apparently prosaic figures of the following tables reveal several phases of the early railroad history of the country with a clearness not to be obtained in any other way.

The aggregate length of the ninety-five roads considered is three thousand nine hundred and thirteen miles. But two of them—the Baltimore and Ohio and the Erie—were enterprises born of broad vision. They were the only instances in which early American railways on the verge of construction were conceived and planned, from the first, as important arteries of general commerce designed to connect separated sections of the country. The average length of the ninety-five roads, including the Baltimore and Ohio and the Erie, was forty-one and one-fifth miles. Without those two railways the average length of the remaining ninety-three was less than thirty-four miles. In other words the first railroads of the country, as actually planned and constructed, were merely neighborhood conveniences built to join localities, towns or cities that lay close to one another—often only a short distance apart. In thirty-two of these cases the places connected were separated by a distance of less than twenty miles. The building of a railroad was sometimes the result of local pride. One town would decide to construct such a highway because a rival town had begun a like task. There was at first no coöperation among those who undertook the work. A railroad would begin somewhere, run a few miles and end somewhere else, with no prior plan or purpose to have it connect with a similar construction. Finally, after a number of small and disconnected railways had appeared in some region, the several links that would hitch them all together were laid down. And even then it often happened that the links were of different widths, or gauges, which of course

made uninterrupted conveyance of people or goods an impossibility. It was eleven years after the introduction of railways in New York before the important chain of neighboring cities between Albany and Buffalo were finally connected by several iron roads that had all been built as separate pieces of work.

As has previously been said, both the early dreamers and the general public had considered the new subject of railways chiefly in terms of speed and human convenience. But the men with money, by whose coöperation only could railroad building be begun, refused to invest their funds for the purpose of facilitating public travel. Their habit of mind was to consider the making, movement and sale of commodities, and it was in connection with those purposes that they at last consented to give their support to the revolutionary transportation method. The records indicate they were in error, and that their action in investing money for the building of short railways between near-by towns in the belief that such highways would be profitable as carriers of goods was an exhibition of poor business judgment. But the investments were saved, in their early and critical stage, by the general desire for human travel to which so little attention had been given. From the very first days of their operation the main reliance of the new railroads lay in passenger traffic, and the records indicate that an overwhelming preponderance of railway income was for years obtained from that source. The facts show, as was said in the text, that America's railways were children of the spirit of conquest and the demand for wider, swifter movement, even though the financial nurses who coddled them were blind to their parentage.

Although the general situation as here stated is apparent from the appended tables, there were certain instances wherein the conditions under discussion were especially noticeable and easily traced, and one—in Pennsylvania—in which unique local conditions brought about a temporary exception to the prevailing rule. In Maryland, for instance, it will be seen that a little road of thirty miles in length, called the Washington Branch Railway, came into use in 1835. Its opening was the only new element of the year in the Maryland railroad situation. During the first twelve months following its use the freight receipts of all the iron highways of the state increased by about $8,400 and the annual income from human travel jumped $139,000. A similar incident is to be found in the Massachusetts conditions of 1840. The Western Railroad had begun business the year before, and while the freight income of all the Massachusetts railways showed a gain of about $51,000 for the year, the money derived from transporting passengers increased by some $148,000. Again, in New York, there was a striking example of the same state of affairs due to the opening of 89 miles of new road in 1835. The following twelvemonth showed a gain in New York's aggregate passenger income of more than $200,000,

while freight brought only $8,000 more to the coffers of the railways than had been similarly derived during the previous year.

The first ten railways in the Pennsylvania list were built mainly for the transportation of iron and coal. But with the opening of the first general road in the state—the Philadelphia, Germantown and Norristown—in 1832, the effect of passenger traffic became at once apparent, and within six years the income derived by such roads from human travel exceeded the sums they received for carrying goods. In 1843, however, the freight income of Pennsylvania's railways again passed the mark set by receipts derived from passengers and that long established condition will, in Pennsylvania, no doubt prevail indefinitely because of well-known conditions peculiar to it or to any commonwealth in which is produced a large quantity of commodities necessary to modern social conditions. Certain communities and states have in course of time become chief points of origin for things all men must have, and the railways leading from them derive their principal revenue from the transporting of those goods.

Our first railroads were no exception to the general rule which governed the creation and adoption of each new method of movement. They were devices whose primary value lay in the increased facilities afforded by them for the personal use and comfort of the people in moving from place to place. Only after they were expanded did they assume a high importance as agencies for the transportation of material wealth. On railways, as on the preceding horses, sleds, boats and wagons, the American was a traveller before he was an extensive shipper of goods.

Under each state heading, in the appended tables, is a list of the early roads of that state, together with the dates of their charters, of their first use by the public (often before the lines were completed) and of their lengths as originally planned. In the chronological table under each state heading, the mileage and cost set down in connection with each year is the total mileage and total cost of all the railways of the state at the date mentioned. The passenger receipts and freight receipts are exclusively for the years named—not the accumulated totals of all previous years.

It should be stated that the figures here used in showing the cost, the passenger receipts and freight receipts of the early American railways are taken from the important and exceedingly scarce "History of the Railroads and Canals of the United States of America," by Henry V. Poor, published in New York City in 1860. The author knows of no other equally authoritative, elaborate and early compilation of the sort. Poor's "History," considered as an assemblage of financial statistics relating to the railroads of the country in their formative period, and as a bibliography of early American railway law, is a product of care, thor-

oughness and labor. The other statements and dates here used are gathered from various contemporary records and publications dealing with the subject.

The tables follow:

MAINE:	Chartered.	First use.	Length.
Bangor, Oldtown and Milford	1833	1836	11
Portland, Saco and Portsmouth	1837	1842	51¼
*Maine, New Hampshire and Mass	1836		1¼
Calais and Baring	1837	1851	6

* Later consolidated, by legislative acts, with Boston and Maine and Portland, Saco and Portsmouth.

Year.	Mileage.	Cost.	Passenger Receipts.	Freight Receipts.
1837	11	$354,000	$11,040	$10,105
1838	11	354,000	11,596	9,955
1839	11	354,000	9,461	10,201
1840	11	354,000	10,220	6,104
1843	62	1,426,730	35,894	9,204
1845	62	1,615,286	116,113	26,938
1850	112	3,070,854	249,994	93,747
1851	284	8,404,778	365,746	190,288
1852	328	11,201,819	423,469	252,952

NEW HAMPSHIRE:	Chartered.	First use.	Length.
*Nashua and Lowell	1835	1838	6¼
*Eastern	1836	1840	16½
*Boston and Maine	1835	1840	37¼
Concord Railroad Co	1835	1842	34½

*These were also early Massachusetts roads. The Concord road was the first New Hampshire railway entirely within the state limits.

Year.	Mileage.	Cost.	Passenger Receipts.	Freight Receipts.
1842-3	34½	$725,000	$48,035	$21,808
1843-4	34½	742,500	72,799	65,421
1844-5	34½	750,000	90,545	90,099
1845-6	34½	800,000	109,971	115,469
1846-7	103½	2,499,967	137,758	160,747
1847-8	151	5,244,500	238,907	199,602

VERMONT:	Chartered.	First use.	Length.
Vermont Central	1843	1848	119
Connecticut and Passumpic River	1835	1848	110
Rutland and Burlington	1843	1849	119½
Western Vermont	1845	1851	54
Vermont Valley	1848	1851	23¾

Year.	Mileage.	Cost.	Passenger Receipts.	Freight Receipts.
1849	40	$800,000	$25,110	$32,211
1850	240¾	8,430,960	133,997	123,889
1851	378⅓	15,753,227	362,675	483,097

MASSACHUSETTS:	Chartered.	First use.	Length.
Boston and Lowell	1830	1834	26¾
Boston and Providence	1831	1834	43½
Boston and Worcester	1831	1834	44½
Berkshire Railroad Co	1837	1842	21
Boston and Maine	1833	1836	35¾
Charlestown Branch Railroad	1836	1839	7¾
Eastern Railroad Co	1836	1838	44
Nashua and Lowell	1836	1838	14½
*Old Colony Railroad	1838	1840	20
Taunton Branch Railroad	1835	1836	11
Western Railroad Co	1833	1839	117¾
West Stockbridge Railroad	1831	1838	2¾

*Between New Bedford and Taunton, to which its name was changed in 1839. Not to be confounded with the "Old Colony" road chartered in 1844.

Year.	Mileage.	Cost.	Passenger Receipts.	Freight Receipts.
1835	113½	$3,972,795	$224,874	$62,225
1836	127¾	4,495,570	369,601	129,334
1837	127¾	5,029,370	464,603	218,280
1838	176	6,818,956	522,926	260,753
1839	225¼	8,968,419	695,967	337,657
1840	318	11,775,595	844,045	388,572
1842	434½	19,066,671	1,273,257	721,074
1844	485½	21,135,726	1,586,468	1,017,983
1846	681¼	27,614,871	2,239,792	1,591,777
1848	947⅓	43,859,313	3,181,659	2,463,711
1850	1,125	51,644,808	3,616,516	2,692,425

RHODE ISLAND:	Chartered.	First use.	Length.
New York, Providence and Boston	1832	1837	50
Providence and Worcester	1844	1847	43½
Providence, Warren and Bristol	1846	1855	13½

Year.	Mileage.	Cost.	Passenger Receipts.	Freight Receipts.
1844	50	$1,950,000	$102,138	$39,762
1845	50	1,919,740	78,569	37,586
1846	50	1,902,140	86,049	41,796
1847	50	1,899,300	129,128	57,056
1848	50	1,886,650	117,908	56,469
1850	50	2,045,946	116,276	64,495
1852	50	1,893,000	134,410	63,802
1855	63½	2,363,860	167,692	108,878

These figures deal only with the first road named in this list. The Providence and Worcester railway was more properly a Massachusetts enterprise.

CONNECTICUT:	Chartered.	First use.	Length.
Hartford and New Haven	1833	1838	61½
Boston, Norwich and New London	1832	1840	59
Housatonic Railroad	1836	1841	74
New Haven and Northampton	1846	1848	46

Year.	Mileage.	Cost.	Passenger Receipts.	Freight Receipts.
1839	18	$ 729,606	*$20,000	*$10,000
1840	102¼	2,628,592	118,889	53,754
1841	102¼	3,023,373	154,334	82,594
1842	176¼	4,340,985	189,343	130,419
1843	176¼	4,380,215	190,856	159,105
1844	176¼	4,708,206	255,654	193,788
1845	201¾	5,268,591	286,201	237,665
1846	201¾	5,422,888	323,909	290,750
1847	201¾	5,928,418	404,415	369,229
1848	201¾	6,942,652	443,604	425,006
1849	288¾	8,834,070	502,849	470,685
1850	408½	13,720,451	1,023,068	624,786
1852	452½	16,962,696	1,299,927	774,763
1855	649	23,993,028	1,809,194	1,058,792

* An estimate. Probably somewhat under the actual figures.

NEW YORK:	Chartered.	First use.	Length.
Mohawk and Hudson	1826	1831	17
Saratoga and Schenectady	1831	1832	21½
*New York and Harlem	1831	1832	6¾
Buffalo and Black Rock	1833	1834	3¼

	Chartered.	First use.	Length.
Ithaca and Owego	1828	1834	28¼
Rensselaer and Saratoga	1832	1835	25¼
Brooklyn and Jamaica	1832	1836	11
Utica and Schenectady	1833	1836	78
Buffalo and Niagara Falls	1834	1837	22
Lewiston Railroad	1836	1837	6¼
New York and Erie	1832	1841	446
Long Island Railroad	1834	1837	84
Tonawanda Railroad	1832	1837	43½
Auburn and Syracuse	1834	1838	26
Hudson and Berkshire	1828	1838	31½
Syracuse and Utica	1836	1838	53
Auburn and Rochester	1836	1840	78
Blossburg and Corning	1839	1841	14¾
Albany and West Stockbridge	1836	1841	38¼
**Attica and Buffalo	1836	1842	32
Schenectady and Troy	1836	1842	20½

* Afterward slowly extended, as stated in the text.

** The last link in a completed line of railways from Albany to Buffalo.

Year.	Mileage.	Cost.	Passenger Receipts.	Freight Receipts.
1832	17	$795,303	$52,059	$.....
1833	39¼	1,328,725	94,319	8,708
1834	73¾	1,680,977	129,070	13,733
1835	99¾	2,682,429	175,305	38,987
1836	188¾	5,000,831	381,256	46,185
1837	259½	6,145,210	585,927	38,529
1838	278	7,200,462	623,197	43,696
1839	367¼	9,075,719	976,743	60,877
1840	394½	9,578,965	986,891	59,873
1841	414½	9,701,218	1,021,836	107,252
1842	573½	16,833,624	1,282,870	156,042
1845	722	21,269,126	1,575,241	301,593
1848	855½	33,252,324	2,553,633	915,313
1850	1,452½	63,631,538	3,749,674	1,518,998

NEW JERSEY:	Chartered.	First use.	Length.
Camden and Amboy	1830	1832	61¼
New Jersey Railroad	1832	1834	33¾
Paterson and Hudson	1832	1834	14
Morris and Essex	1835	1837	52½
Camden and Woodbury	1836	1839	9
Elizabeth and Somerville	1839	1839	25

Year.	Mileage.	Cost.	Passenger Receipts.	Freight Receipts.
1833	51½	$1,374,327	$307,021	$129,513
1834	61¼	2,337,630	351,955	157,838
1835	89½	3,613,917	502,319	236,623
1836	109	4,275,327	637,998	259,117
1837	132¼	5,122,301	624,137	279,132
1838	137¼	5,397,619	650,822	273,855
1839	194¼	6,160,857	661,317	272,197
1840	194¼	6,367,819	672,780	298,715
1845	197¼	7,731,212	892,305	375,097
1848	247¼	8,582,920	1,298,715	551,397
1850	254½	11,192,817	1,484,284	656,318

PENNSYLVANIA:	Chartered.	First use.	Length.
Lehigh Coal and Navigation	....	1827	9
Carbondale and Honesdale	....	1829	16½
Mill Creek and Mine Hill	1828	1829	4
Schuylkill Valley	1828	1830	9¼
Union Canal Co. Railroad	....	1830	3½
Mine Hill and Schuylkill	1828	1831	13½
Mount Carbon Railroad	1829	1831	7
Lykens Valley Railroad	1830	1833	15½
Room Run Railroad	....	1833	5
Little Schuylkill Railroad	1826	1832	28
Phila., Germantown and Norristown	1831	1832	17
Philadelphia and Trenton	1832	1833	28¼
Philadelphia and Columbia	Public work	1834	81
Alleghany Portage Railroad	Public work	1834	41
West Chester Railroad	1831	1832	9
Beaver Meadow Railroad	1830	1836	20½
Portsmouth, Mt. Joy and Lancaster	1832	1836	36
Cumberland Valley	1831	1837	52
Strasburg Railroad	1832	1837	4¼
Phila., Wilmington and Balto	1831-2	1837	98
Franklin Railroad	1832	1838	22½
York and Maryland	1832	1838	22
Philadelphia and Reading	1833	1838	95
Williamsport and Elmira	1832	1839	25
Lehigh and Susquehanna	1837	1840	19¾
Lorberry Creek Railroad	1831	1840	5
Tioga Railroad	1828	1840	29½
Wrightsville, York and Gettysburg	1835	1840	13

Year.	Mileage.	Cost.	Passenger Receipts.	Freight Receipts.
1830	9	$188,251	.....	$22,317
1831	28¼	479,319	.....	39,387
1832	49	1,197,318	.....	61,342
1833	54	1,513,249	$22,606	101,727
1834	90½	2,941,708	51,709	113,514
1835	216¾	7,760,798	140,219	276,247
1836	228	8,391,527	205,109	392,967
1837	365	12,956,019	461,696	483,125
1838	377½	13,399,303	623,896	531,722
1839	383¾	13,928,196	738,938	617,940
1840	474½	18,452,642	850,410	777,895
1842	474½	21,861,905	799,516	768,716
1843	474½	22,476,905	806,744	881,314
1845	502¾	26,478,108	983,176	1,619,895
1849	521½	35,159,788	1,361,863	2,881,698

The table does not include figures relating to such roads as were built and exclusively used for the movement of coal and iron.

DELAWARE:	Chartered.	First use.	Length.
Newcastle and Frenchtown.....	1829	1832	16¼
Wilmington and Susquehanna.....	1832	1837	34

Year.	Mileage.	Cost.	Passenger Receipts.	Freight Receipts.
*1850	16¼	$908,927	$135,129	$1,976
*1851	16¼	908,927	135,231	1,913
*1852	16¼	908,927	89,978	1,899

*These figures are for the Newcastle and Frenchtown Railway only. Earlier statistics for the first two Delaware roads are not available.

MARYLAND:	Chartered.	First use.	Length.
Baltimore and Ohio	1827	1830	379
Baltimore and Susquehanna.....	1828	1831	36
Delaware and Maryland.....	1832	1837	22
Washington Branch Railroad.....	1833	1835	30
Baltimore and Port Deposit.....	1834	1837	36
Annapolis and Elkridge	1837	1840	20½

Year.	Mileage.	Cost.	Passenger Receipts.	Freight Receipts.
1830	14	$1,178,165	$14,711	$ .....
1831	61	2,079,107	27,250	4,155
1832	69	2,279,841	67,910	69,027
1833	89	3,188,725	93,233	121,147
1834	101	3,619,222	104,182	131,255
1835	101	3,911,251	113,540	189,828
1836	131	5,761,196	253,126	198,186
1837	131	6,105,299	275,625	235,676
1838	131	6,251,333	326,694	288,539
1839	178½	8,113,794	430,182	283,260
1840	178½	8,722,917	431,940	334,349
1843	296	12,212,911	420,345	395,385
1845	296	12,534,410	546,010	494,530
1846	296	12,617,100	601,293	643,683
1848	296	13,890,479	667,487	958,379

The figures relating to the Delaware and Maryland Railway and to the Baltimore and Port Deposit road, are not included in this table. They were chiefly Pennsylvania enterprises and the statistics dealing with them are embraced in the records of Pennsylvania.

APPENDIX B

The following tables—relating to the ninety-five railways listed in Appendix A—are designed to throw some light on the relationship between the physical growth, capitalization, actual construction cost and net earnings of the American railroad system during the first thirty years of its existence. The figures used are also extracted from Poor's "History."

A study of the numerical statements here given shows a number of interesting conditions. The "total cost," as set forth for each year summarized, embraces the total cost of both construction and equipment for all railways in the state under consideration up to the year named. The "total capital" or "total liabilities" similarly represents the entire capital or liabilities of all the roads of the state up to the year in question. It will be observed that, as a general rule, the debts and construction expenditures of early American railways were substantially equal. In other words, their physical valuations, or costs of reproduction, were about equal to their liabilities. They had about a dollar's worth of tangible physical property for every dollar of indebtedness. The total capital or liabilities of all the railroads in the eleven states here reviewed was, in 1859, $506,486,841. At the same date the amount which had been expended in building and equipping those same roads was $484,991,861. More than 95.7 per cent. of the liabilities of those early roads was represented and balanced by physical property.

This favorable showing, moreover, was made in spite of the fact that in Pennsylvania and New York the aggregate liabilities of the railways in those states then exceeded their cost by about $23,000,000. In those two commonwealths, at the time, capital stock for some new enterprises had been issued, as usual, in advance of actual construction. If New York and Pennsylvania be omitted from the tabulation it will be found that in six of the nine remaining states—New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, New Jersey, Delaware and Maryland—the physical cost of the railways exceeded their liabilities in 1859, and if the figures for all nine states be combined it will be seen that $213,724,163 had been expended in railway construction and equipment, whereas the aggregate railroad liabilities or capital of the same nine states amounted to only $211,613,127.

It often happened, of necessity, that the railroad liabilities in some states exceeded the total amount expended for construction up to the same year, since building could not commence until the roads were au-

thorized to borrow in order to undertake projected work. Perhaps the most noticeable instance of this sort is to be found in the Maryland conditions between 1835 and 1850. Between those years the tangible property of the new Maryland roads lagged behind their liabilities by millions of dollars, but by 1855 additional construction had almost balanced the account, and in 1859 the amount expended in the creation of physical property had passed the debt figures.

The inclusion of figures showing net earnings for each year named, and of others indicating the total mileage existing in each year named, will enable the student to calculate average costs per mile of equipped railway and the average percentage of net earnings. The tables follow:

MAINE:

Year.	Mileage.	Total Liabilities.	Total Cost.	Net Earnings.
1837	11	$354,000	$354,000	$5,848
1840	11	354,000	354,000	2,436
1845	62	1,650,000	1,615,286	86,049
1850	112	7,300,000	3,070,854	211,059
1855	386	15,605,000	14,141,629	575,018
1859	511	19,066,000	18,382,207	586,082

NEW HAMPSHIRE:

Year.	Mileage.	Total Liabilities.	Total Cost.	Net Earnings.
1842-3	34½	$725,000	$725,000	$43,728
1845-6	34½	800,000	800,000	93,424
1850-1	415	14,939,457	14,635,915	583,441
1855-6	547	18,192,932	17,910,093	709,465
1858-9	547	17,302,650	17,626,653	714,539

VERMONT:

Year.	Mileage.	Total Liabilities.	Total Cost.	Net Earnings.
1849	40	$800,000	$800,000	$33,560
1850	240¾	10,498,140	8,430,960	144,594
1855	487½	23,282,615	21,762,849	305,679
1859	511¾	23,429,004	23,133,231	451,471

MASSACHUSETTS:

Year.	Mileage.	Total Liabilities.	Total Cost.	Net Earnings.
1835	113½	$3,972,795	$3,972,795	$141,943
1840	318	11,727,299	11,775.595	560,313
1845	570¼	23,314,074	23,704,998	1,707,436
1850	1125	52,993,324	51,644,808	3,382,242
1855	1348½	63,531,113	61,835,726	3,436,695
1859	1393¼	61,230,417	62,527,333	4,218,177

RHODE ISLAND:

Year.	Mileage.	Total Liabilities.	Total Cost.	Net Earnings.
1844	50	$1,950,000	$1,950,000	$43,314
1850	50	2,045,946	2,045,946	95,313
1855	63½	2,336,800	2,363,860	107,922
1859	63½	2,254,892	2,258,567	121,155

CONNECTICUT:

Year.	Mileage.	Total Capital.	Total Cost.	Net Earnings.
1839	18	$729,606	$729,606	$20,433
1845	201¾	5,771,720	5,268,591	300,345
1850	408½	13,922,006	13,720,451	831,165
1855	649	24,451,223	23,993,028	1,265,247
1859	664½	24,757,052	24,747,869	1,281,888

NEW YORK:

Year.	Mileage.	Total Capital.	Total Cost.	Net Earnings.
1832	17	$795,303	$795,303	$20,152
1835	99¾	2,682,249	2,682,429	70,058
1840	394½	9,620,252	9,578,965	586,944
1845	722	21,413,500	21,269,126	1,002,702
1850	1452½	60,035,622	63,631,538	3,057,773
1855	2631½	145,835,217	129,147,518	8,487,689
1859	2643¾	143,770,938	131,538,580	7,356,672

NEW JERSEY:

Year.	Mileage.	Total Capital.	Total Cost.	Net Earnings.
1833	51½	$1,374,327	$1,374,327	$181,050
1835	89½	3,654,527	3,613,917	407,891
1840	194¼	6,442,524	6,367,819	461,237
1845	197¼	7,260,959	7,731,212	698,708
1850	254½	10,702,786	11,192,817	887,191
1855	450¼	21,452,708	21,627,340	1,625,597
1859	502¾	26,574,803	27,398,853	2,594,367

PENNSYLVANIA:

Year.	Mileage.	Total Capital.	Total Cost.	Net Earnings.
1830	9	$186,042	$188,251	$13,145
1835	216¾	8,361,374	7,760,798	70,698
1840	474½	19,898,357	18,452,642	365,826
1845	502¾	30,271,685	26,478,108	1,221,227
1850	746¼	44,289,334	42,689,204	2,506,922
1855	1580	104,999,506	97,725,285	7,290,067
1859	2349¾	151,102,776	139,729,118	7,782,382

DELAWARE:

Year.	Mileage.	Total Capital.	Total Cost.	Net Earnings.
1850	16¼	$1,042,548	$908,927	$18,564
1855	16¼	999,404	853,405	—28,278
1859	16¼	749,171	723,551	—387

MARYLAND:

Year.	Mileage.	Total Capital.	Total Cost.	Net Earnings.
1830	14	$1,356,619	$1,178,165	$2,726
1835	101	8,260,239	3,911,251	116,881
1840	178½	15,253,028	8,722,917	280,853
1845	296	17,492,270	12,534,410	509,276
1850	296	20,697,843	14,397,256	980,119
1855	523	31,099,561	30,124,572	1,977,644
1859	572½	34,779,070	35,228,071	2,470,594

APPENDIX C

It is stated in the text that no less than twelve different railway gauges were in use in the United States until as late a date as 1866. In the following table are cited thirty railroads, located from Maine to Missouri and Texas, indicating the condition named. The figures given are taken from "Ashcroft's Railway Directory for 1867."

Road.	State.	Length in Miles.	Gauge.
Albany & Susquehanna R.R.	N. Y.	103	6 feet
Alabama & Florida R.R.	Ala.	114	5 feet
Atlantic & Great Western R.R.	N. Y., Pa., O.	507	6 feet
Belvidere & Delaware R.R.	N. J., Pa.	67	4 feet 10 inches
Bellefontaine R.R.	O., Ind.	202	4 feet 10 inches
Central Ohio R.R.	O.	137	4 feet 10 inches
Cincinnati, Hamilton & Dayton R.R.	O.	60	4 feet 10 inches
			6 feet (used 4 r'ls.)
Cumberland Valley R.R.	Pa., Md.	74	4 feet 8 inches
Delaware & Hudson R.R.	Pa.	32	4 feet 3 inches
Delaware, Lackawanna & Western R.R.	Pa., N. Y., N. J.	251	6 feet
Erie R.R.	N. Y.	460	6 feet
Galveston, Houston & Henderson R.R.	Tex.	50	5 feet 6 inches
Hackensack & New York R.R.	N. J.	13	6 feet
Houston & Texas Central R.R.	Tex.	80	5 feet 6 inches
Illinois Central R.R.	Ill.	365	4 feet 8½ inches
Kentucky Central R.R.	Ky.	99	5 feet
Lackawanna & Bloomsburg R.R.	Pa.	80	4 feet 8½ inches
			6 feet (used 3 r'ls.)
Lake Erie & Louisville R.R.	O., Ind.	175	4 feet 9¼ inches
Maine Central R.R.	Me.	110	5 feet 6 inches
Portsmouth Branch R.R.	O.	56	5 feet 4 inches
North Missouri R.R.	Mo.	170	5 feet 6 inches
Northern Railroad of New Jersey	N. Y., N. J.	35	6 feet
Ohio and Mississippi R.R.	O., Ind., Ill.	340	6 feet
Pacific and Missouri River R.R.	Mo., Kan.	283	5 feet 6 inches
Pittsburgh, Ft. Wayne & Chicago R.R.	Pa., O., Ind., Ills.	468	4 feet 10 inches
Sandusky, Mansfield & Newark R.R.	O.	117	4 feet 9½ inches
Sycamore & Cortland R.R.	Ill.	4½	4 feet 8 inches
Tyrone & Clearfield R.R.	Pa.	23½	4 feet 5½ inches
Virginia & Tennessee R.R.	Va., Tenn.	204	5 feet
Wilton R.R.	N. H.	15	4 feet 7 inches

APPENDIX D

On July 2, 1873, James A. Garfield delivered before the student body of Hudson College an address on "The Future of the Republic: Its Dangers and Hopes." A considerable part of the speech dealt with the railway problem and the economic relationship between the railroad and the corporation. Garfield's speech was printed in pamphlet form, and a portion of it relating to the subject matter of these volumes is here reproduced. The quoted parts of the utterance will be found [pages 15 to 33] in a pamphlet bearing the title of the address, and published in Cleveland in 1873. The speaker said:

"There is another class of dangers, unlike any we have yet considered—dangers engendered by civilization itself, and made formidable by the very forces which man is employing as the most effective means of bettering his condition and advancing civilization. I select the railway problem as an example of this class. I can do but little more than to state the question, and call your attention to its daily increasing magnitude.

"We are so involved in the events and movements of society that we do not stop to realize—what is undeniably true—that during the last forty years all modern societies have entered upon a period of change, more marked, more pervading, more radical than any that has occurred during the last three hundred years. . . The changes now taking place have been wrought and are being wrought, mainly, almost wholly, by a single mechanical contrivance, the steam locomotive. . . .

"I have noticed briefly what society has done for the locomotive, and what it has done for society. Let us now inquire what it is doing and is likely to do *to* society.

"The national constitution and the constitutions of most of the States were formed before the locomotive existed; and of course no special provisions were made for its control. Are our institutions strong enough to stand the shock and strain of this new force? A government made for the kingdom of Lilliput might fail to handle the forces of Brobdignag. . .

"It cannot have escaped your attention that all the forces of society, new and old, are now acting with unusual vigor in all departments of life. . . May it not be true that the new forces are also over-weighting the strength of our social and political institutions? The editor of 'The Nation' declares the simple truth when in a recent issue he says:

" 'The locomotive is coming in contact with the framework of our institutions. In this country of simple government, the most powerful centralizing force which civilization has yet produced must, within the next score years, assume its relations to that political machinery which is to control and regulate it.'

"The railway problem would have been much easier of solution if its difficulties had been understood in the beginning. But we have waited until the child has become a giant. We attempted to mount a columbiad on a carriage whose strength was only sufficient to stand the recoil of a twelve-pound shot.

"The danger to be apprehended does not arise from the railroad, merely, but from its combination with a piece of legal machinery known as the private corporation. . .

"Under the name of private corporations, organizations have grown up, not for the perpetuation of great charity, like a college or hospital, nor to enable a company of citizens more conveniently to carry on a private industry; but a class of corporations unknown to the early law writers has arisen; and to them have been committed the vast powers of the railroad and the telegraph, the great instruments by which modern communities live, move and have their being.

"Since the dawn of history the great thoroughfares have belonged to the people—have been known as the king's highways or the public highways, and have been open to the free use of all on payment of a small, uniform tax or toll to keep them in repair. But now the most perfect, and by far the most important roads known to mankind, are owned and managed as private property, by a comparatively small number of private citizens.

"In all its uses the railroad is the most public of all our roads; and in all the objects to which its work relates, the railway corporation is as public as any organization can be. But, in the start, it was labeled a private corporation; and so far as its legal status is concerned it is now grouped with eleemosynary institutions and private charities, and enjoys similar immunities and exemptions. It remains to be seen how long the community will suffer itself to be the victim of an abstract definition.

"It will be readily conceded that a corporation is strictly and really private when it is authorized to carry on such a business as a private citizen may carry on. But when the State has delegated to a corporation the sovereign right of eminent domain, the right to take from the private citizen, without his consent, a portion of his real estate; to build its structure across farm, garden and lawn; into and through, over or under, the blocks, squares, streets, churches and dwellings of incorporated cities and towns; across navigable rivers, and over and along public highways, it requires a stretch of the common imagination and much refinement and subtlety of the law to maintain the old fiction that such an organization is not a public corporation.

"In the famous Dartmouth College Case of 1819 it was decided, by the Supreme Court of the United States, that the charter of Dartmouth College is a contract between the State and the Corporation, which the legislature cannot alter without the consent of the corpora-

tion; and that any such alteration is void, being in conflict with that clause of the constitution of the United States which forbids a State to make any law impairing the obligation of contracts.

"This decision has stood for more than half a century as a monument of judicial learning and the great safeguard of vested rights. But chief justice Marshall pronounced this opinion ten years before the steam railway was born; and it is clear he did not contemplate the class of corporations that have since come into being. But, year by year, the doctrine of that case has been extended to the whole class of private corporations, including Railroad and Telegraph Companies. But few of the States, in their early charters to railroads, reserved any effectual control of the operations of the corporations they created. In many instances, like that of the Illinois Central charter, the right to amend was not reserved. In most States each legislature has narrowed and abridged the powers of its successors, and enlarged the powers of the corporations; and these by the strong grip of the law, and in the name of private property and vested rights, hold fast all they have received. By these means not only the corporations but the vast railroad and telegraph systems have virtually passed from the control of the State. It is painfully evident from the experience of the last few years, that the efforts of the States to regulate their railroads have amounted to but little more than feeble annoyance. In many cases the corporations have treated such efforts as impertinent intermeddling, and have brushed away legislative restrictions as easily as Gulliver broke the cords with which the Lilliputians attempted to bind him.

"In these contests the corporations have become conscious of their strength, and have entered upon the work of controlling the States. Already they have captured several of the oldest and strongest of them; and these discrowned sovereigns now follow in chains the triumphal chariot of their conquerors. And this does not imply that merely the officers and representatives of States have been subjected to the railways, but that the corporations have grasped the sources and fountains of power, and control the choice of both officers and representatives.

"The private corporation has another great advantage over the municipal corporation. The jurisdiction of the latter is confined to its own territory; but by the recent constructions and devices of the law a private corporation, though it has no soul, no conscience, and can commit no crime, yet it is a citizen of the State that creates it, and can make and execute contracts with individuals and corporations of other States.

"Thus the way has been opened to those vast consolidations which have placed the control of the whole system in the hands of a few, and have developed the Charlemagnes and the Cæsars of our internal commerce.

"In addition to these external conquests, the great managers have in many cases grasped the private property of the corporations themselves; and the stocks which represent the investment have become mere counters in the great gambling houses of Wall street, where the daily ebb and flow of the stock market sweeps and tosses the business and trade of the Continent.

"If these corporations were in reality private corporations, transacting only private business, the community might perhaps stand by in wonder and amazement at their achievements; but a great and vital public interest is involved in the system, an interest which affects the social and political organization in a thousand ways. Prominent among these is the public necessity for means of transportation. . .

"In view of the facts already set forth the question returns: What is likely to be the effect of railway and other similar combinations upon our community and our political institutions? Is it true, as asserted by the British writer quoted above,[1] that the State must soon recapture and control the railroads or be captured and subjugated by them? Or do the phenomena we are witnessing indicate that general breaking up of the social and political order of modern nations, so confidently predicted by a class of philosophers whose opinions have hitherto made but little impression on the public mind? . . .

"The consolidation of our great industrial and commercial companies, the power they wield and the relations they sustain to the State and to the industry of the people do not fall far short of Fourier's definition of Commercial or Industrial Feudalism. The modern barons, more powerful than their military prototypes, own our greatest highways and levy tribute at will upon all our vast industries. And, as the old Feudalism was finally controlled and subordinated only by the combined efforts of the kings and the people of the free cities and towns, so our modern Feudalism can be subordinated to the public good only by the great body of the people, acting through their governments by wise and just laws.

"My theme does not include, nor will this occasion permit, the discussion of methods by which this great work of adjustment may be accomplished. But I refuse to believe that the genius and energy that have developed these new and tremendous forces will fail to make them not the masters but the faithful servants of society. It will be a disgrace to our age and to us if we do not discover some method by which the public functions of these organizations may be brought into full subordination to the public, and that too without violence, and without unjust interference with the rights of private individuals. It will be unworthy of our age and of us, if we make the discussion of this subject a mere warfare against men. For in these great industrial enterprises have been and still are engaged, some of the noblest and worthi-

[1] Reference is made to an article in the "London Quarterly Review" of April, 1873, quoted by Garfield in his address.

est men of our time. It is the system—its tendencies and its dangers—which society itself has produced, that we are now to confront. And these industries must not be crippled, but promoted. The evils complained of are mainly of our own making. States and communities have willingly and thoughtlessly conferred these great powers upon railways; and they must seek to rectify their own errors without injury to the industries they have encouraged.

"Already methods are being suggested. Massachusetts is discussing the proposal to purchase and operate a portion of her railroad system, and thus bring the rest into competition with the State as the representative of the people. It is claimed that the success of this plan has been proved by the experience of Belgium.

"Another proposition is that the State purchase the roads and open them like other highways to the free use of the public, subject to such regulations and toll as the safety of transportation and the maintenance of the system may require. This, it is claimed, would remove the stocks and bonds from the gambling operations of the markets, and place the levying of the transportation tax in the hands of the State, and under the control of those who pay.

"Others, again, insist that the system has overgrown the limits and the powers of the separate States, and must be taken in hand by the national government under that provision of the national constitution which empowers Congress 'to regulate commerce among the several States.' When it is objected that this would be a great and dangerous step towards political centralization—which many think has already been pushed too far—it is responded that as the railway is the greatest centralizing force of modern times, nothing but a kindred force can control it; and it is better to rule it than to be ruled by it. Other solutions have been proposed; but these are sufficient to show how strongly the current of public thought is setting towards the subject. Indications are not wanting that the discussion will be attended by passion, and by a full exhibition of that low political cunning which plays with the passions and prejudices of men, and measures success by results and not by the character of the means employed. I have ventured to criticise the judicial application of the Dartmouth College case; and I venture the further opinion that some features of that decision, as applied to the railway and similar corporations, must give way under the new elements which time has added to the problem. But this must be done, not by denouncing judges who faithfully administer the law, but by such prudent changes in the law, and perhaps in our constitutions, as will guide the courts in future adjudications.

"It depends upon the wisdom, the culture, the self-control of our people, to determine how wisely and how well this question shall be settled. But that it will be solved, and solved in the interest of liberty and justice, I do not doubt. . . ."

APPENDIX E

A list of the principal canals in the United States in 1850.
From "Disturnell's American and European Railway and Steamship Guide, etc., etc., New York, 1851." Pages 7-8.

Name.	State.	From	To	Miles.
Cumberland & Oxford...	Maine	Portland	Long Pond	50½
Middlesex.....	Mass.	Boston	Lowell	27
Champlain	N. Y.	Junction Erie	Whitehall	64
Erie	"	Albany	Buffalo	364
Chenango	"	Utica	Binghamton	97
Black River.....	"	Rome	Boonville	35
Cayuga & Seneca.....	"	Montezuma	Geneva	21
Oswego	"	Syracuse	Oswego	38
Oneida Lake.....	"	Erie Canal	Oneida Lake	6
Chemung	"	Jefferson	Elmira	23
Feeder do.....	"	Horseheads	Corning	16
Crooked Lake.....	"	Dresden	Penn Yan	8
Genesee Valley.....	"	Rochester	Olean	108
Dansville Branch.....	"	Near Mt. Morris	Dansville	11
Delaware & Hudson....	N. Y. & Pa.	Rondout, N. Y.	Honesdale, Pa.	109
Morris	New Jersey	Jersey City	Easton, Pa.	102
Delaware & Raritan....	"	New Brunswick	Bordentown	43
Feeder do.....	"	Trenton	Saxtonsville	23
Pennsylvania Canal				
Central Division.....	Penn.	Columbia	Hollydaysburg	173
Western do.....	"	Johnstown	Pittsburgh	104
Susquehanna do.....	"	Duncan's Island	Northumberland	40
North Branch.....	"	Northumberland	Farrandsville	75
West Branch.....	"	Northumberland	Lock Haven	72
Delaware Division....	"	Bristol	Easton	60
Beaver	"	Beaver	Erie	136
Franklin	"	Franklin	Meadville	45
Schuylkill Nav.....	"	Philadelphia	Port Carbon	108
Lehigh do.....	"	Easton	Stoddartsville	84
Union	"	Reading	Middletown	82
Susquehanna	Pa. & Md.	Wrightsville, Pa.	Havre de Grace	45
Chesapeake & Delaware..	Del. & Md.	Delaware City	Back Creek, Md.	14
Chesapeake & Ohio.....	Md. & Va.	Alexandria, Va.	Cumberland, Md.	191
James River.....	Virginia	Richmond	Lynchburg	146
Dismal Swamp.....	"	Deep Creek	Joyce's Creek	23

Name.	State.	From	To	Miles.
Weldon	N. Carolina	Weldon	Blakeley	12
Santee	S. Carolina	Charleston	Santee River	22
Savannah	Georgia	Savannah	Alatamaha River	16
Brunswick	"	Brunswick	Alatamaha River	12
Muscle Shoals	Alabama	Tennessee River	Florence	36
Huntsville	"	Huntsville	Triana	16
Barataria	Louisiana	New Orleans	Bayou Terre Bonne	21
Orleans	"	New Orleans	L. Pontchartrain	6
Louisville	Kentucky	Louisville	Portland	2½
Ohio and Erie	Ohio	Cleveland	Portsmouth	309
Walhonding	"	Roscoe	Rochester	25
Hocking	"	Carroll	Athens	56
Miami	"	Cincinnati	Dayton	65
Extension do	"	Dayton	Junction	115
Warren	"	Lebanon	Middletown	19
Muskingum Nav	"	Dresden	Marietta	91
Whitewater	Indiana	Laurensburg	Cambridge	68
Wabash & Erie	O. & Ind.	Mahattan, O.	Evansville, Ind.	467
Illinois & Michigan	Illinois	Chicago	Peru	100
			Total miles	4,002

APPENDIX F

An extract from the "Address delivered by Wm. H. Seward, at the commencement of the Auburn and Owasco Canal, October 14, 1835, with the proceedings of the celebration. Auburn, 1835." [1]

"It is moreover necessary to cherish a liberal spirit in regard to public improvements in other parts of the state and of the country. And such a spirit is no less enlightened and just, than it is expedient for us to indulge it. I regret to say that on this subject there has been, in my judgment, much error prevailing among us and throughout the state. The eastern counties, while they have found the value of their land enhanced nearly twofold, and their towns increased in nearly the same proportion, by means of the great increase of commerce effected by the construction of the Erie Canal, have not yet altogether surmounted the jealousy with which they regarded the accomplishment of that great work. Finding that they are not, as they at first anticipated they would be, oppressed with taxation to defray the cost of its construction, many of their citizens now deem it just to impose on the canal the expense of the support of the government, at the hazard of driving into other channels that very trade which makes it productive and invites their cupidity. The denial of the applications, at the last session of the legislature, for charters for constructing railroads from Utica to Syracuse, and from Auburn to Rochester, was a part of the same policy, and proceeded upon the grounds that railroads, parallel to the Erie Canal, would have the effect, by diminishing the canal tolls, to reduce the revenue of the state. . . . So, also, a portion of our citizens have been opposed to the construction of the New York and Erie Railroad, through the southern counties, owing to the apprehension that it would depreciate the property in the northern counties; and in retaliation, 'the sequestered counties,' as those are called which are on the route of the southern railroad, unite with the eastern counties to prevent the improvements required by us.

"Plausible pretexts are never wanting to cover the real odiousness of these sectional jealousies; and these may generally be resolved into a great and anxious concern for the safety of the state treasury. Now in my humble opinion, the state can no more wisely conduct its affairs than by contributing to the internal improvement of the territory within its limits a large proportion of its revenues and credits. . . . Where individual enterprise and capital are sufficient to accomplish a desirable

[1] The text as here given varies in unimportant particulars from that later included in "The Works of William H. Seward, as edited by George E. Baker"; vol. iii, pages 128 to 134.

work, they ought to be at once called into exercise. Where they are incompetent, the state ought in justice and sound policy to contribute. And yet the very opposite of this is the doctrine maintained by many of our statesmen, who hold that the state ought to embark only in those improvements which will be immediately productive. But as such works will be met by citizens with private funds, it follows according to this principle that the state ought never to make any improvements. With such men there is an everlasting apprehension of an eternal public debt and eternal taxation. And yet if all the internal improvements required to cross this state in every direction, at such intervals as to leave not a single sequestered county or town within its limits, were to be made at once, the debt which would be created would not impair the public credit or retard the public prosperity a single year. The expenses of a single year of war would exceed the whole sum of such cost. Every year after their construction would show the resources of the state so much increased that a nominal tax would be sufficient to establish a sinking fund ample for the redemption of the debt within one generation—if indeed it were just that one generation should bear the entire expense of improvements destined to become more and more productive while the government shall exist. To compare such appropriations to the heavy national debts incurred by monarchical governments in desolating and exterminating wars, is as unsound in politics as to assimilate in agriculture the effects of invigorating rains to the sterility produced by the burning sun.

"The popular error on this subject unquestionably arises from an inability to understand the extent of the resources of this great country. It is forgotten that besides the lands we cultivate there is a territory of almost inconceivable dimensions lying on our borders, with an annual increase of strong and willing hands to reclaim and bring it into a productive condition. It is forgotten that every five or six years brings a new state into this confederacy, with its fresh and fertile soil yielding most luxuriant burthens, while the older states are all the time increasing in wealth and prosperity. It is forgotten that this is a government made for the reign of peace and humanity. It is forgotten that we have not, and with the favor of God never will have, any aristocracy, pensioners and placemen in Church or State to consume the substance of the people. It is forgotten that we are daily demonstrating by our experience the new and gratifying theory that national poverty, as well as individual destitution, are not the decree of a harsh and offended deity, but the fault of men. . . . It is time, fellow citizens, that we explode these prejudices and rise to the sublime conviction that Providence has spread around us an immense territory to improve—to cultivate it and make it the abode of peace, of science, and of liberty. When we shall have impressed this truth, and become imbued with its influence, we shall rejoice in every work which will im-

prove the condition of any portion of the people, and which will add to the prosperity of any part of the country. . . .

"Splendid as will be the results of the work we this day commence, and bright as are the visions of national prosperity dawning upon us, it ought to be borne in mind that those results and those prospects are not, and ought not to be, the chief end of our exertions. While it is true that individual wealth and national prosperity tend to increase and to multiply domestic enjoyments, and elevate and refine the social condition, it is equally true that the perpetuity of this Union under its existing form of government is, and ought to be, the object of the most persevering and watchful solicitude on the part of every American citizen. And it is as certainly true that neither the happiness of our people, nor the stability of our government, depends on the length and number of our canals and railroads or the individual or collective wealth of our citizens. On the other hand, wealth and prosperity have always served as elements which introduce vice, luxury and corruption into republics. And luxury, vice and corruption have subverted every republic which has preceded us, that had force enough in its uncorrupted state to resist foreign invasion. So closely are moral good and moral evil, political good and political evil, associated in this probationary state. But in addition to the other eminent blessings by which we are distinguished, our lot has been cast in an age and situation when we can change this tendency of wealth and prosperity and convert them into agents for the preservation and maintenance of the liberty we enjoy. We are under a fearful responsibility to posterity and to the friends of free government throughout the world that the institutions established here, dearer to them than all the wealth of the ancient East and the modern West, shall not be subverted through our fault.

"That responsibility can be discharged, faithfully, successfully, triumphantly, by the education of the people. This great work it is practicable for us to accomplish. . . . There is only one obstacle to the work—and that is, the prevailing belief that it is already accomplished. Our orators and some of our statesmen point boastingly to the catalogues which show that almost every citizen can read and write, and thereupon unhesitatingly pronounce us the wisest and most enlightened of all the nations of the earth. We lay this flattering unction to our souls and rest content. But it is a dangerous, it is a universal—God grant it does not prove a fatal—delusion. That the most of the American people have been instructed to read and write and that they make profitable use of these precious acquirements, I am as proud to declare as any citizen. But does the acquirement of reading and writing constitute knowledge? No, fellow citizens, they are only the means of acquiring it; and without some higher cultivation of the mind, the ability to read and write has a tendency almost as strong to acquire and disseminate error as truth. It prepares us to become the support of

demagogues, and the slaves of popular passion, caprice and excitement. Something more is wanted. . . . But let it be always remembered that to elevate the standard of general education, and to extend its benefits, is the most important duty of the age in which we live. Better would it be for our successors that the waters of Erie and Hudson had pursued their ancient passage to the ocean strangers to each other, as they were before the towering intellect of Clinton compelled them to be united; better for them would it be that the Atlantic cities were a forest, and the valley of the Mississippi had remained an inhospitable prairie, than that we should transmit to them, with the mighty improvements of this age, a subtle poison which should undermine their social condition. We must make our improvements in the minds of the people keep progress with those of our territory, if we would preserve those institutions without which all the wealth and prosperity we can secure will only invite more rigorous and avaricious oppression. . . .

"Perhaps at some distant day the curious searcher of antiquities may find, in the ruins which sooner or later must cover this work, like all other human inventions, the corner-stone we are now to deposit in the earth, and studiously decipher the inscription it bears, as a memorial of a people whose career will have terminated, and over whose memory oblivion will have begun to draw her dark mantle. Then, when all the notoriety given to the proceedings of this day by an ephemeral press shall have passed away, we shall be judged not by the improvements we make in our lakes or our rivers, our mountains or our valleys, nor yet by the wealth we accumulated or the monuments we reared—but we shall be judged by the indelible impression we shall have left upon the moral condition of our country. So far as our influence may go in forming the character of the age in which we live, let not the discovery of these works recall the memory of a people who acquired wealth without wisdom, and enjoyed the luxury that it brought, reckless of their responsibility to posterity and mankind. . . ."

APPENDIX G

The following tables, giving information concerning the public lands of the United States in 1826, and concerning the relationship of the Indians to those lands, are quoted from "Laws of the United States, Resolutions of Congress Under the Confederation, Treaties, Proclamations, Spanish Regulations and Other Documents Respecting the Public Lands. Compiled [1] in Obedience to a Resolution of the House of Representatives of the United States, Etc. Washington, 1828."

"Synopsis of the public lands within the boundaries of the several States and Territories of the United States":

TABLE I

Quantity of land purchased by the United States		258,377,667
Quantity of land not yet ceded by the Indians		55,947,453
Acres		314,325,120
Quantity of public land surveyed to Jan. 1, 1826		138,988,244
Quantity of public land sold to same date		19,239,412
Amount paid by purchasers of public lands at the several land offices to Jan. 1, 1826	$31,345,968.73	
Amount due from purchasers on same date	7,955,831.03	
	$39,301,799.76	
Add sales to the Ohio Company, to John Cleves Symmes and associates. Also, sales at New York and Pittsburg prior to the opening of the land offices	1,050,080.43	
	$40,351,880.19	
Quantity of land sold at the United States land offices. Sales to John Cleves Symmes and associates; sales to the Ohio Company; and sales at New York and Pittsburg. Acres		19,239,412
Amount of the one thirty-sixth part of the public lands appropriated to support schools, and special donations for colleges		7,708,066
Quantity of land appropriated for military bounties, private claims and donations		21,156,889
Quantity of land remaining unsold on Jan. 1, 1826		210,273,300
Making the total quantity of land purchased by the United States to Jan. 1, 1826. Acres		258,377,667
Extent of land lying within the limits of the United States, but not embraced in the boundaries of States and Territories. Acres		750,000,000

[1] By Matthew St. Clair Clarke, Clerk of the House of Representatives.

TABLE II

Total expenditures on account of public lands:

Purchase of Louisiana	$15,000,000
Paid State of Georgia and Yazoo script	6,200,000
Paid on account of Indian cessions, to Jan. 1, 1826	3,392,494
Paid for surveying 138,988,224 acres of public lands	2,164,368
Expenses incidental to sale of 19,239,412 acres of public lands	1,154,951
	$27,911,813
Due on account of the Florida loan	5,000,000
	$32,911,813
The public lands, excluding Louisiana and Florida purchase money, cost, per acre, less than	5 cents
Including Louisiana and Florida, about	12½ "
Indian lands alone, cost, per acre	3-147/1,000 "

TABLE III

From a statement politely furnished by the General Land Office it appears that the United States have acquired lands from the Indians as follows:

In Ohio	24,854,888 acres
In Indiana	16,243,685 "
In Illinois	29,384,744 "
In Louisiana	2,492,000 "
In Alabama	19,586,560 "
In Mississippi	12,475,231 "
In Missouri	36,169,383 "
In Michigan Territory	17,561,470 "
In Arkansas Territory and West	55,451,904 "
Total	214,219,865 "

Exclusive of the lands acquired, under various treaties with the Creeks and Cherokees, for the States of Georgia, Tennessee, North Carolina and South Carolina.

TABLE IV

	Number of Indians.	Quantity of Land Claimed.
Maine	956	92,260 acres
Massachusetts	750	.....
Rhode Island	420	3,000 "
Connecticut	400	4,300 "
New York	5,143	246,675 "
Virginia	47	27,000 "
South Carolina	450	144,000 "
Ohio	2,350	409,501 "
Michigan Territory	28,316	7,057,920 "
Indiana	11,679	10,104,000 "
Illinois		5,314,560 "
Georgia	53,625	9,537,920 "
Alabama		7,272,576 "
Tennessee		1,055,680 "
Mississippi		15,705,000 "
Florida Territory	5,000	4,032,640 "
Louisiana	1,313	.....
Missouri	18,917	2,782,726 "
Arkansas Territory		13,612,560 "
	129,366	77,402,318 acres

["Table I" on page 1052 of work quoted; "Table II" on page 1062; "Tables III and IV" on page 1067.]

Note by S. D.—An apparent contradiction will be observed in these governmental statements concerning the lands, in organized states and territories, which had not yet been ceded by the Indians. Table I gives the amount as 55,947,453 acres, and Table IV names the quantity so claimed as 77,402,318 acres. A large proportion of the additional 750,000,000 acres mentioned in the last paragraph of Table 1 was afterward bought from the Indians by the white government, although native ownership of the areas in question is not directly asserted in the official report here quoted.

Up to the year 1826, as shown by the tables, the United States had acquired 214,219,865 acres from the Indians at a total cost of $3,392,494, the average price paid to the red men per acre being stated as 3.147 cents. For the 19,239,412 acres of these lands already sold by the government it had received $40,351,880.19.

Another apparent discrepancy is contained in the figures relating to the cost of lands already obtained from the natives. If the average price had been 3.147 cents per acre, the cost of the 214,219,865 acres would have been about $6,735,000, instead of the smaller sum specified in Table II. Perhaps the $3,392,494 "paid on account of Indian cessions to Jan. 1, 1826," represented only partial payment on the purchases, leaving the remainder still due. If we were compelled to accept without qualification the statement that 214,219,865 acres had already been acquired from the Indians in 1826—as recited in Table III—and if we were likewise forced to accept without qualification the figures of Table II—wherein it is said that "Indian lands, alone, cost 3 147/1000 cents an acre"—then the 214,000,000 acres had been acquired at an average expense of about 1.580 cents an acre.

APPENDIX H

Reference was made in Chapter V of the text to statements by early white chroniclers concerning the character of the Indians and their relations with the Caucasian race. The following discussions of the subject, written at various times between 1643 and 1847, by American historians or contemporary commentators, are examples of the statements referred to:

I

From Roger Williams' "A Key into the Language of America: London, 1643." Text as here quoted taken from the reprint contained in volume one of the "Collections of the Rhode Island Historical Society. Providence, 1827."

"If any stranger come in, they presently give him to eate of what they have; many a time, and at all times of the night (as I have fallen in travell upon their houses) when nothing hath been ready, have themselves and their wives, risen to prepare me some refreshing. It is a strange truth, that a man shall generally finde more free entertainment and refreshing amongst these Barbarians, than amongst thousands that call themselves Christians." [pp. 36-37.]

"In Summer-time I have knowne them lye abroad often themselves, to make roome for Strangers, English, or others." [p. 38.]

"There are no beggars amongst them, nor fatherlesse children unprovided for." [p. 45.]

"The poore amongst them will say, they want nothing." [p. 53.]

"I have heard of many English lost, and have oft been lost my selfe, and my selfe and others have often been found, and succoured by the Indians." [p. 73.]

"I have heard them say to an Englishman (who being hindred, broke a promise to them) you know God, will you lie Englishman." [p. 116.]

"I could never discerne that excesse of scandalous sins amongst them, which Europe aboundeth with. Drunkennesse and gluttony, generally they know not what sinnes they be; and although they have not so much to restraine them (both in respect of knowledge of God and lawes of Men) as the English have, yet a man shall never heare of such crimes amongst them of robberies, murthers, adulteries, &c., as amongst the English." [p. 121.]

II

From Benjamin Trumbull's "A Complete History of Connecticut, etc., 1818."

"The Indians, at their [the Englishmen's] first settlement, performed many acts of kindness towards them. They instructed them in the manner of planting and dressing the Indian corn. They carried them upon their backs, through rivers and waters; and, as occasion required, served them instead of boats and bridges. They gave them much useful information respecting the country, and when the English or their children were lost in the woods, and were in danger of perishing with hunger, or cold, they conducted them to their wigwams, fed them, and restored them to their families and parents. By selling them corn, when pinched with famine, they relieved their distresses and prevented their perishing in a strange land and uncultivated wilderness." [p. 57.]

"In this distressful situation a committee was sent to an Indian settlement called Pocomtock, since Deerfield, where they purchased such quantities, that the Indians came down to Windsor and Hartford, with fifty canoes at one time, laden with Indian corn." [pp. 94-95.]

III

From Jedediah Morse's "A Report to the Secretary of War of the United States on Indian Affairs, Comprising a Narrative of a Tour Performed in the Summer of 1820, Under a Commission from the President of the United States, for the Purpose of Ascertaining, for the Use of the Government, the Actual State of the Indian Tribes in Our Country, Etc., Etc. New Haven, 1822."

". . . We should scarcely have supposed, that any man, acquainted with history, or making any pretensions to candor, would be found among the objectors to attempts to civilize our Indians, and thus to save them from perishing. Yet, painful as is the fact, objections have been made to the present course of procedure with Indians, and from men too, whose standing and office in society are such, as it would be deemed disrespectful to pass unnoticed. 'The project,' it has been said, 'is visionary and impracticable. Indians can never be tamed; they are incapable of receiving, or of enjoying, the blessings proposed to be offered to them.' Some, I will hope, for the honor of our country, that the number is small, have proceeded farther, and said: 'Indians are not worth saving. They are perishing—let them perish. The sooner they are gone, the better. . .'

"It is too late to say that Indians cannot be civilized. The facts referred to, beyond all question, prove the contrary. The evidence of actual experiment in every case, is paramount to all objections founded in mere theory, or, as in the present case, in naked and unsupported assertions. . . To look down upon them, therefore, as an inferior race, as untameable, and to profit by their ignorance and weakness; to take their property from them for a small part of its real value, and in other ways to oppress them; is undoubtedly wrong. . . To remove these Indians far away from their present homes . . . into a wilderness,

among strangers possibly hostile, to live as their new neighbors live, by hunting, a state to which they have not lately been accustomed, and which is incompatible with civilization, can hardly be reconciled with the professed views and objects of the Government in civilizing them. This would not be deemed by the world a wise course, nor one which would very probably lead to the desired end." [pp. 81-83.]

"There is evidently a great and important revolution in the state of our Indian population already commenced, and now rapidly going forward, affecting immediately the tribes among us and on our borders, and which will ultimately and speedily be felt by those at the remotest distance. . . . Honor, justice, humanity, all that makes man respectable in the sight of God and men, imperiously require us to go forward, in full faith, till this work, so auspiciously commenced, shall be accomplished. This new state of things requires corresponding measures on the part of the government, to whom we look to take the lead in carrying on this revolution, which, if rightly directed and conducted, will save the Indians from ruin, and raise them to respectability and happiness, and reflect high and lasting honor on the Administration which shall accomplish it. . . .

"Another evil equally destructive of the Indians, and equally necessary to be provided against by proper laws and regulations, is, intercourse with unprincipled white people. Indians complain, and justly too, that their morals are corrupted by bad white men. This is well known to be the fact, and the cause of incalculable injury to the Indians, as well as of national disgrace." [pp. 84-85.]

"The Table which accompanies this Report, compiled from official documents, shows, that more than two hundred millions of acres of some of the best lands in our country, have been purchased, after our manner, and at our own prices, of the Indian tribes. Of these lands, previously to October, 1819, there had been sold by the government about eighteen and a half millions of acres, for more than forty-four millions of dollars. The remainder of these lands, if sold at the same rate, and the sums paid to the Indians for them deducted, would yield to the government a net profit of more than five hundred millions of dollars! . . . ." [p. 94.]

"The character of the Cherokees for courage, fidelity, hospitality, and cleanliness, stands high. They are generally of a fine figure, as to their persons, polite in their manners, and fond of learning and improvement in the arts. . . . ." [p. 153.]

"The attempts of the Cherokees to institute civil government for themselves, adapted to their improved condition, succeed quite as well as could be expected. Their incipient jurisprudence appears to secure the respect of the people. The distribution of the legislative, judicial, and executive powers of government, is made with considerable skill and judgment. . . . " [p. 180.]

"The Choctaws have strong tendencies towards a civilized state. They are friendly to travellers, for whose accommodation they have established a number of public inns, which for neatness and accommodations, actually excel many among the whites. . . Within a few years they have made great advances in agriculture, and other arts of civilized life. They raise corn and different kinds of pulse, melons, and cotton. In one year they spun and wove ten thousand yards. . . The Choctaws raise a great many cattle. They have laid aside hunting, as a business, though they sometimes engage in it for amusement. . . . " [pp. 182-183.]

"The Chickasaws have always been warm friends of the United States, and are distinguished for their hospitality. Some of the chiefs are half breed, men of sense, possess numerous negro slaves, and annually sell several hundred cattle and hogs. The nation resides in eight towns, and like their neighbors, are considerably advanced in civilization. The American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, have in contemplation the speedy establishment of a mission among these Indians, preparations for which are already made. This is done at the earnest solicitation of the nation."

Morse included in his report a synopsis of the civil and criminal code of the Cherokees. The following Indian laws, indicating the social condition and practises of that nation, are cited by him: [pp. 172-176.]

There shall be one Judge and one Marshal in each district,[1] and one Circuit Judge, who shall have jurisdiction over two districts, to associate with the district judges in determining all causes agreeable to the laws of the nation.

The head of each family shall pay a poll tax of fifty cents per annum into the national treasury, and each single man under the age of sixty years shall also pay fifty cents per annum.

Single white men are admitted to be employed as clerks in any of the stores that shall be established in the nation by natives, on condition that the employer obtains a permit and becomes responsible for the good behavior of such clerks.

Any person who shall bring into the nation, without permission from the National Committee and Council, a white family, and rent land to the same, proof being satisfactorily shown before any of the Judges in the District Councils, for every offense shall forfeit the sum of five hundred dollars and receive one hundred stripes on the bare back.

Parents who permit their children to play truant from schools or seminaries shall be compelled thereafter to pay all expenses incurred by their children while in the schools.

The nation shall procure at the public expense a set of tools for every apprentice who shall have faithfully served his time and learned a trade.

[1] The nation was divided, in 1820, into eight judicial and administrative districts.

Schoolmasters, blacksmiths, millers, saltpeter and gunpowder manufacturers, ferrymen, turnpike keepers and unmarried mechanics are privileged to reside in the nation on condition that their employers procure permits for their residence and become responsible for their good conduct and behavior. Such persons are subject to expulsion for misdemeanor. They may, while resident in the nation, improve and cultivate twelve acres of ground for their own benefit.[1]

Retail storekeepers shall obtain licenses for vending merchandise, said licenses costing twenty dollars per annum.

None but citizens of the nation shall be allowed to establish permanent stores.

No person not a citizen of the nation shall be allowed to bring into the nation any spirituous liquors, on pain of their confiscation.

Any white man who takes a Cherokee woman to wife shall be married to her by a minister of the Gospel or other authorized official, after procuring a marriage license from the National Clerk.

The property of a Cherokee woman so married to a white man shall not be subject to the disposal of her husband contrary to her consent.

There shall be companies of light horse or mounted constabulary in each district, to suppress crime, take those who transgress the law, and protect property and fatherless children.

No private feuds or vengeance shall be allowed.

Murder shall be punished by death.

IV

From Edwin James's introductory chapter to "A Narrative of the Captivity and Adventures of John Tanner, Etc., Etc. New York, 1830." [James was also editor of Major Long's account of his Expedition to the West.]

". . . Have we in our collective character, as a people, any disposition to interpose the least check to the downward career of the Indians? The last inquiry will be unhesitatingly answered in the negative, by all who are acquainted with the established policy of our government in our intercourse with them. The determination evinced by a great part of the people, and their representatives, to extinguish the Indian title to all lands on this side the Mississippi—to push the remnants of these tribes into regions already filled to the utmost extent their means of subsistence will allow—manifests, more clearly than volumes of idle and empty professions, our intentions toward them. The vain mockery of treaties, in which it is understood, that the negotiation, and the reciprocity, and the benefits, are all on one side; the feeble and misdirected efforts we make for their civilization and instruction, should not, and do not, deceive us into the belief that we have either a regard

[1] This and the following six laws were enacted in 1819.

for their rights, where they happen to come in competition with our interests, or a sincere desire to promote the cause of moral instruction among them. . . More than two hundred years have passed, during all which time it has been believed that systematic and thorough exertions were making to promote the civilization and conversion of the Indians. The entire failure of all these attempts ought to convince us, not that the Indians are irreclaimable, but that we ourselves, while we have built up with one hand, have pulled down with the other. Our professions have been loud, our philanthropic exertions may have been great, but our selfish regard to our own interest and convenience has been greater, and to this we ought to attribute the steady decline, the rapid deterioration of the Indians. . . We ought not to forget that injustice and oppression have been most active among the causes which have brought them down to their present deplorable state. . .

"That there exists, in the moral or physical constitution of the Indians, any insuperable obstacle to their civilization, no one will now seriously assert. . . The first labor of the philanthropist, who would exert himself in this cause, should be to allay or suppress that exterminating spirit so common among us, which, kept alive by the exertions of unprincipled land jobbers, and worthless squatters, is now incessantly calling for the removal of the Indians west of the Mississippi. . . Is it absolutely necessary, that while we invite to our shores, and to a participation in all the advantages of our boasted institutions, the dissatisfied and the needy of all foreign countries, not stopping to inquire whether their own crimes, or the influence of an oppressive government, may have made the change desirable for them, we should, at the same time, persist in the determination to root out the last remnants of a race who were the original proprietors of the soil, many of whom are better qualified to become useful citizens of our republic, than those foreigners we are so eager to naturalize? . . . It is believed by many, that national as well as individual crimes, are sure to be visited, sooner or later, by just and merited punishments." [pp. 14-20.]

V

From Benjamin Drake's "The Great Indian Chief of the West: or, Life and Adventures of Black Hawk: 1848."

". . . Fraud, oppression and violence, have characterized our intercourse with the Indians, and it is in vain to hope for any amelioration of their savage condition, so long as an intercourse of this kind is permitted. . . It is to this intercourse that the Indian wars, which have so frequently caused the blood of the white and the red man to flow in torrents, upon our frontier, are mainly to be attributed. . . If kindness, good faith and honesty of dealing, had marked our social, political and commercial intercourse with the Indians, few, if any of these bloody wars would have occurred; and these people, instead of being

debased by our intercourse with them, would have been improved and elevated in the scale of civilization. . .

"If the laws enacted by Congress for the protection and civilization of the aborigines of this country, had been regularly and rigidly enforced, and a more impartial interpretation of the treaties made with them, had been observed, their condition would have been far better than it now is — they would have passed from the hunter to the pastoral state, and have grown in numbers, virtue and intelligence. But these laws and these treaties, have been year after year violated by our own people, and the result has been a constant deterioration of the Indians. This is especially true of those laws intended to prevent our citizens from hunting on the Indian lands, residing in their country, and trading with them without a license from the United States. These have generally been a dead letter upon the national statute book, and the encroachments of the lawless frontiersmen, the trader, the land speculator, and the vender of spirituous liquors, have impoverished, degraded, and vitiated, more or less, every tribe within the limits of the United States. It is to this intercourse, with these classes of persons, that the bad faith, the savage barbarities and border-wars, of which so much complaint is made against the Indians, are to be mainly attributed. The rapacity of our people, for their peltries and their land, the feeble execution of laws made for their protection, and the loose morality which has governed our general intercourse with them, have wasted their numbers, debased their character, and tarnished the honor of that nation, which, from the very organization of its government, has claimed to be their benevolent protector."

VI

From Jacob Burnet's "Notes on the Early Settlement of the North-Western Territory: 1847."

"The imaginary physical difference, pretended to exist between the Europeans and the natives of this continent, vanishes at once, on an unprejudiced comparison between the civilized white man and the civilized, educated Indian. . . .

"As soon as the Cherokees, and the Wyandotes, were surrounded by a white population, and their territory was so contracted as to cut off their dependence on hunting and fishing, they became farmers, and manifested a strong desire to till the earth and cultivate the arts; and this would have been the choice of the whole Indian race, if the policy of government had permitted it.

"It is not just, to consider the natives of this country, as a distinct, and inferior race because they do not generally imitate us, when we not only remove every consideration that could induce them to do so; but in fact, render it impossible. . . .

"As soon as they were brought to a situation in which necessity

prompted them to industry, and induced them to begin to adopt our manners and habits of life, the covetous eye of the white man was fixed on their incipient improvements, and they received the chilling notice that they must look elsewhere for permanent homes. . .

"At the time our settlements were commencing, northwest of the Ohio, that hardy race was its acknowledged owners and sovereigns. The government claimed no right, either of occupancy or soil, but as they obtained it by purchase. . . .

"Unconscious of the ruinous consequences that were to follow their intimacy with white men, they ceded to the American Government large and valuable portions of their country at nominal prices. Those lands were rapidly settled by Americans, in whose purity and friendship the unsuspecting natives had great confidence; nor did they awake from that delusion, till their habits of sobriety and morality had been undermined. . .

"Their subsistence became precarious; . . . their health declined; . . . their self-respect, their dignity of character, and the heroism inherited from their ancestors were lost. . . . They became, in their own estimation, a degraded, dependent race. The Government, availing itself of their weakness and want of energy, succeeded, by bribes and menaces, in obtaining the best portions of their country, and eventually in driving them from the land of their birth, to a distant home, in an unknown region.

"This distressing chapter of aboriginal history began at the treaty of Greenville, in 1795, and terminated in less than fifty years. The writer of these notes witnessed its commencement, progress, and close." [pp. 387-391.]

APPENDIX I

The appended letter was published in the "Indiana [Vincennes] Centinel," of December 2, 1820, and signed "An Indianian." The author of the communication is unknown. It related to the selection of a name for the new state capital, the site of which had recently been chosen. The letter in part read:

"The legislators of Indiana have now an opportunity of showing their own greatness of mind by a display of their magnanimity. . . . By honoring manly worth in the memory of an enemy in whom manly worth was unrivalled. . . .

"I mean Tecumseh. It is true he was our enemy; but he was born on his own soil, reared with his own kindred. He saw his soil alienating, and his kindred perishing, and we, intrusive strangers, cannot charge him with his hatred. His enmity was love of country. His hostility was the brightest patriotism; such patriotism as we are all proud of; such patriotism as has immortalized the name of Washington. . . His was no partisan contest; no mercenary quarrel. What Washington and a thousand others were to us, so was Tecumseh to his countrymen.

"Every schoolboy in the Union now knows that Tecumseh was a great man. He was truly great—great in every accepted sense of the word; and his greatness was his own, unassisted by science or the aids of education. As a statesman, a warrior and a patriot, 'Take him for all in all, we shall not look upon his like again.'

"If such a man had lived in the Roman or Spartan Republic, what honors would have been paid to his memory! But, alas, Tecumseh was an Indian and a savage.

"Tecumseh was probably endowed with more native genius than any other of our red American brothers. It is true that the whites were his natural enemies, as he had a mind above becoming a slave to the vices of civilized society. He early saw, and felt, that to preserve his tribe they must be detached from and independent of the whites. . . . It was reserved for a mind as capacious and strong as Tecumseh's to bring about this herculean task. He formed a plan upon a grand scale to unite all the Indian tribes from the Floridas to the Lakes in one firm band to resist the encroachments of the whites. . .

"He was no barbarian, with brutish passions and with appetites merely animal:—it is true his mind had not the culture of civilization, but it was strong in its native excellence, and was admiraby fitted to the station which was assigned to him by his Maker. He had all the virtues, without one of the vices, which are conspicuous in our societies. His name, when pronounced by future generations, will bring to remembrance all that is great, all that is glorious, and all that is worthy of the imitation of posterity. . ."

APPENDIX J

The following document is an executive message written by the heads of the Cherokee Nation in October of 1828, and by them addressed to a joint sitting of the two chambers of the National Congress, whose members held their seats by virtue of popular suffrage. The text as here quoted was published in the *Cherokee Phœnix,* Volume I, number 34, on October 22, 1828; page 1, columns 1 to 5.

To the Members of the Committee and Council, in General Council Convened:

Fellow citizens, in addressing you on this momentous occasion, we cannot, in justice to our feeling, forbear a solemn pause, and, with grateful feelings, meditate on so many blessings which a kind Providence has conferred on us as a people. Although we have had trials and tribulations to encounter, and in some instances the sad effects of intemperance have been experienced within the circle of our citizens, yet there is every reason to further us in the hope that, under wise and wholesome laws, the preponderating influences of civilization, morality, and religion will secure to us and our posterity an ample share of prosperity and happiness.

Occupying your seats by the free suffrage of the people, under the privileges guaranteed by the constitution, the various subjects requiring your deliberation the present session will necessarily be met. The organization of the new government, and refining and amendment of old laws, so as to make them in unison with the principles of the constitution, will require your attention; and it cannot escape your wisdom that the laws should be short, plain, and suitable to the condition of the people, and to be well executed. The judiciary system demands your serious deliberation, and the mode for conducting suits in courts should be free from all complicated formalities, and no other form should be required than to let both parties know distinctly what is alleged, that a fair trial may be had.

A law should be passed requiring managers and clerks of all public elections to register the names of the persons voting, as well as the names of the candidates to whom the votes are given. By observing such a course, illegal voters will be deducted, and the laws conducted with more regularity, harmony and satisfaction.

The public press deserves the patronage of the people, and should be cherished as an immediate vehicle for the diffusion of general information, and as a no less powerful auxiliary in asserting and supporting our political rights. Under this impression, we cannot doubt that you will continue to foster it by public support. The only legislative provision necessary for conducting the press, in our opinion, is to guard

against the admission of scurrilous productions of a personal character, also against cherishing sectarian principles on religious subjects. The press being the public property of the nation, it would ill become its character if such infringements upon the feelings of the people should be tolerated. In other respects the liberty of the press should be as free as the breeze that glides upon the surface.

From the accompanying memorial, signed by several of our respectable citizens, together with the public treasurer, you will discover that further indulgence is called for in behalf of the public debtors, and it is for your wisdom to determine whether it would be just and proper that the law requiring the treasurer to call in all the money loaned out should be amended so as to give further indulgence to the borrowers, that the payments may be made with two installments. Owing to the extreme scarcity of money, from the general pressure in business, such indulgence would, no doubt, be a great relief; and the probable distress and confusion from the sacrifice of property, consequent from public sales, may be avoided.

After receiving the treasurer's report and ascertaining the true condition of the public funds, it will also be your province to determine the expediency of making suitable provisions for the erection of a national Academy of New-Echota. This subject, for some time past, has been agitated, and is anticipated with the utmost zeal by the reflecting part of our citizens, and it should receive your particular attention. By the treaty of 1819 four tracts of land, equal to fifteen miles square, were reserved for the purpose of creating a revenue for a school fund to be applied under the direction of the president of the United States for the education of the youth of this nation. The lands were to have been sold under the direction of the president, in the same manner as the public lands of the United States; and notwithstanding repeated and urgent requests which have been made for the sale of these lands, and the no less repeated promise on the part of the general government to attend to it, for reasons unknown, they are not yet sold. We would recommend you to memorialize the president on this important subject, and respectfully to request that the available funds may be applied to the contemplated national academy.

Several charity schools in this country, under the immediate patronage of benevolent societies of the several states, should not escape your notice. Although the superintendents of these schools, under the direction of respective societies, have the right of conducting them according to the dictates of their own discretion and judgment, yet, without presuming any disparagement to their regulations, we would suggest the expediency of selecting a visiting committeee on the part of the nation, for the purpose of inspecting their public examinations, and at such other times as said committee may deem it proper, and that they should be required to make a general report on the state of improvement, etc.,

to be laid before the session of each general council. Such a course, pursued by the authorities of the nation, in relation to these institutions, would no doubt excite an interest among the peoples, and add to the vigilance of their preceptors, and at the same time produce a general satisfaction. An indifferent course, perhaps, might eventually produce relaxation and apathy in their operations; and we should endeavor to avoid the dishonor of any circumstances which might possibly take place that would defeat the fondest expectations of those upon whose benefaction they are founded.

The circumstances of our government assuming a new character, under a constitutional form, and on the principles of republicanism, has in some degree excited the sensation of the public characters of Georgia, and it is sincerely to be regretted that this excitement should have been manifested by such glaring expressions of hostility to our true interests. By the adoption of the constitution our relation to the United States, as recognized by existing treaties, is not in the least degree affected; but, on the contrary, this important change in our government is strictly in accordance with the recommendation, views, and wishes of the great Washington, under whose auspicious administration our treaties of peace, friendship, and protection, were made, and whose policy, in regard to Indian civilization, has been strictly pursued by the subsequent administrations.

The pretended claim of Georgia to a portion of our lands is alleged on the following principles: First, by discovery; secondly, by conquest; thirdly, by compact.

We shall endeavor briefly to illustrate the character of this claim. In the first place, Europeans, by the skill and enterprise of their navigators, discovered this vast continent, and found it inhabited exclusively by Indians of various tribes; and by a pacific courtesy and designing strategems the aboriginal proprietors were induced to permit a people from a foreign clime to plant colonies; and, without the consent or knowledge of the native lords, a potentate of England, whose eyes never saw, whose purse never purchased, and whose sword never conquered the soil we inhabit, presumed to issue a parchment, called a "charter," to the Colony of Georgia, in which its boundary was set forth, including a great extent of country inhabited by the Cherokees and other Indian nations.

Secondly, after a lapse of many years, when the population of their colonies had become strong, they revolted against their sovereign, and by success of arms established an independent government, under the name of "the United States." It is further alleged that the Cherokee nation prosecuted a war at the same time against the colonies.

Thirdly, several years after the treaties of peace and friendship and protection, which took place between the United States and the Cherokee nation, and by which the faith of the United States was sol-

emnly pledged to guarantee to the Cherokee nation forever, a title to their lands, a compact was entered into between the United States and the state of Georgia by which the United States promised to purchase for the use of Georgia certain lands belonging to the Cherokee nation, so soon as it could be done on reasonable and peaceable terms.

Thus stands the native claim of Georgia to a portion of our lands. The claim advanced under the plea of discovery is preposterous. Our ancestors, from time immemorial, possessed this country, not by a "charter" from the hand of mortal king, who had no right to grant it, but by the will of the King of Kings, who created all things, and liveth for ever and ever.

The claim advanced under the second head, on the ground of conquest, is no less futile than the first, even admitting that the Cherokees waged a war with the colonies at the time they fought for their independence. The Cherokees took a part in the war only as the allies of Great Britain, and not as her subjects, being an independent nation, over whose lands she exercised no rights of jurisdiction; therefore nothing could be claimed from them, in regard to their lands, by the conqueror, over the rights of Great Britain. At the termination of the war the United States negotiated with the Cherokees on the terms of peace as an independent nation, and, since the close of that war, other wars took place, and at their terminations other treaties were made; and in no one stipulation can there be found a single idea that our title to the soil has ever been affected or claimed as the terms of peace; but, to the contrary, we discover that the United States solemnly pledged their faith that our title should be guaranteed to our nation forever.

The third pretension is extremely lame. The United States enters into a compact with Georgia that they will purchase certain lands, which belong to us, for Georgia, so soon as they can do it on peaceable and reasonable terms. This promise was made on the part of the United States without knowing whether this nation would even consent to dispose of these lands on any terms whatever; and the Cherokees not being a party in the compact, their title could not be affected in the slightest degree. It appears astonishingly unreasonable that all those hard denunciations, which have been unsparingly lavished against our sacred rights and institutions by interested politicians, have arose from no other circumstances than our refusal to sell to the United States lands for the fulfillment of their compact with Georgia. Although our views and condition may be misrepresented—although we may be stigmatized with the appellation of "nabobs," and should be represented as ruling with an "iron rod," and "grinding down into dust the wretched and abject mass" of our citizens; and although we may be called avaricious for refusing to sell our lands, we should not be diverted from the path of rectitude. In all our intercourse with our neighboring white brethren, we should endeavor to cultivate the utmost harmony and good under-

standing by strictly observing the relations which we sustain to the United States.

Owing to the various misrepresentations respecting us, we have been frequently called upon to make a treaty of concession; and, under the hope of succeeding with us, a treaty has been entered into by the United States with that portion of the Cherokees who have absolved themselves from all connection with us by removing west of the Mississippi and establishing themselves there as a distinct community, stipulating that all those Cherokees residing east of the Mississippi, who will consent to emigrate west of that river, shall receive a bounty consisting of a rifle gun, and blanket, and steel trap, and brass kettle, and five pounds of tobacco. Such are the temptations offered to induce us to leave our friends, our relatives, our houses, our cultivated farms, our country, and everything endeared to us by the progress of civilization—for what? To tread the barren wilds and dreary waste on the confines of the Rocky Mountains, with those necessary accoutrements and appendages of the hunter on our backs, in pursuit of the buffalo and other wild animals. With a view of carrying this burlesque on our happiness into effect, the United States agent for this nation has been instructed, by the secretary of war, to visit us at our firesides, accompanied by James Rogers and Thomas Maw, two of the Cherokees residing west of the Mississippi, and who composed a part of the chiefs that negotiated the late treaty. This extraordinary movement has been made, though without any effect; and we are happy to state that our citizens generally have treated the agent and associates with civility, and have with great propriety restrained their indignant feelings from committing any violence on the persons of the two Arkansas chiefs for the indignity offered by the design of their visit. We would recommend you, as the immediate representatives of the people, to submit a respectful memorial to the Congress of the United States expressive of the true sentiments of the people respecting their situation, and praying that measures may be adopted on the part of the United States for the adjustment of their compact with the state of Georgia otherwise than to anticipate any further concession of land from this nation.

WILLIAM HICKS,
JOHN ROSS.

New-Echota, C. N., Oct. 13, 1828.

APPENDIX K

A catechism for overland travellers. From J. E. Sherwood's "Pocket Guide to California. New York: 1849."

First Question—The Route.—Which route by land is best for the emigrant:

Answer.—The route via Independence or St. Joseph, Mo., to Fort Laramie, South Pass, Fort Hall, the Sink of Mary's River, &c., &c., the old route. Let no emigrant, carrying his family with him, deviate from it or imagine that he can find a better road. This road is the best that has yet been discovered, and to the Bay of San Francisco and the Gold Region it is much the shortest. The Indians, moreover, on this route, have, up to the present time, been so friendly as to commit no acts of hostility on the emigrants. The trail is plain and good where there are no physical obstructions, and the emigrant by taking this route, will certainly reach his destination in good season and without disaster. From our information we would most earnestly advise all emigrants to take this trail, without deviation, if they would avoid the fatal calamities which almost invariably have attended those who have undertaken to explore new routes.

Second—Wagon and Team.—What kind of wagon and team is preferable?

Answer.—The lightest wagon that can be constructed of sufficient strength to carry 2,500 pounds weight, is the vehicle most desirable. No wagon should be loaded over this weight, or if it is, it will be certain to stall in the muddy sloughs and crossings on the prairie in the first part of the journey. This wagon can be hauled by 3 or 4 yokes of oxen or six mules. Oxen are usually employed by the emigrants for hauling their wagons. They travel about 15 miles per day, and all things considered, are perhaps equal to mules for this service, although they cannot travel so fast. They are, however, less expensive, and there is not so much danger of their straying and of being stolen by the Indians.

Pack-mules can only be employed by parties of men. It would be very difficult to transport a party of women and children on pack-mules, with the provisions, clothing, and other baggage necessary to their comfort. A party of men, however, with pack mules, can make the journey in less time by one month than it can be done in wagons,—carrying with them, however, nothing more than their provisions, clothing and ammunition.

For parties of men going out, it would be well to haul their wagons, provisions, &c., as far as Fort Laramie, or Fort Hall, by mules, carry-

ing with them pack-saddles and atforjases, or large saddle-bags, adapted to the pack-saddle, with ropes for packing, &c., when, if they saw proper they could dispose of their wagons for Indian ponies, and pack into California, gaining perhaps two or three weeks' time.

Third.—What provisions are necessary to a man?

Answer.—The provisions actually necessary per man, are as follows: 150 lbs. of Flour, 150 lbs. Bacon, 25 lbs. Coffee, 30 lbs. Sugar.

Added to these, the main items, there should be a small quantity of rice, 50 or 75 lbs. of crackers, dried peaches, &c., and a keg of lard, with salt, pepper, &c., and such other luxuries of light weight as the person outfitting chooses to purchase. He will think of them before he starts.

Fourth.—What arms and ammunition are necessary?

Answer.—Every man should be provided with a good rifle, and, if convenient, with a pair of pistols, five pounds of powder and ten pounds of lead. A revolving belt pistol may be found useful.

With the wagon, there should be carried such carpenters' tools as a handsaw, auger, gimlet, chisel, shaving-knife, &c., an axe, hammer, and hatchet. This last weapon every man should have in his belt, with a hunter's or bowie knife.

Fifth.—What is the length of the journey?

Answer.—From Independence to the first settlement in California, which is near the gold region, it is about 2,050 miles—to San Francisco, 2,290 miles.

Sixth.—What are the facts in regard to the statements respecting the gold mines?

Answer.—The accounts that have been received and published in regard to the wealth and productiveness of the gold mines, and other mines in California, are undoubtedly true. They are derived from the most reliable and authentic sources, and from individuals whose veracity may be undoubtingly believed.

Seventh.—What could a young man, or a man with a family, with or without profession, do, should he emigrate to California?

Answer.—When he arrives there, he must turn his attention to whatever seems to promise the largest recompense for his labor. It is impossible in the new state of things produced by the late discoveries, and the influx of population, to foresee what this might be. The country is rich in agricultural resources, as well as in the precious metals, and with proper enterprise and industry, he could scarcely fail to do well.

Families, as well as parties going out, should carry with them good tents, to be used after their arrival as houses. The influx of population will probably be so great that it will be difficult, if not impossible, to obtain other shelter for some time after their arrival. The climate of the country, however, even in winter, is so mild that with good tents, comfort is attainable. They should be careful, also, to carry as much

subsistence into the country as they can; as what they purchase there after their arrival, they will be compelled to pay a high price for.

Eighth.—What is the time of starting?

Answer.—Emigrants should be at Independence, St. Joseph, Mo., or the point of starting, by the 20th of April, and start as soon thereafter as the grass on the prairies will permit. This is sometimes by the 1st of May, and sometimes ten days later, according to the season.

Emigrants should not take the route via the South end of the Great Salt Lake, but continue on by Fort Hall, when they will again intersect Mr. B.'s route on Mary's River, about sixty miles from its head waters. On this route they will always, except in two instances, find water and grass within short distances.

Table of distances as given by Bryant in his route overland from Independence, Missouri, to Sutter's Fort on the Sacramento river, Upper California.

From Independence to Fort Laramie	672	miles
From Fort Laramie to Pacific Springs (South Pass)	311	"
From the South Pass (Pacific Springs) to Fort Bridger	123	"
From Fort Bridger to Salt Lake	106	"
From Salt Lake to Mary's river	315	"
From Mary's river to the Sink	274	"
From the Sink to Truckee Lake	124	"
From Truckee Lake to Johnson's	111	"
From Johnson's to Sutter's Fort	35	"
Total distance from Independence, Missouri, to Sutter's Fort, in California	2,071	"
The distance from Sutter's Fort by land, to the town of San Francisco (via the Pueblo of San Jose) near the mouth of the Bay of San Francisco, and five miles from the Pacific Ocean, is	200	"
Total to the sea	2,271	miles

APPENDIX L

A list of the principal overland travel routes between the Mississippi valley and the Pacific Ocean, as used by caravans from about 1849 to 1868. Based on the itineraries given, from page 181 to page 251, in Burton's edition of Marcy's "The Prairie Traveler," London, 1863. The routes here listed may be traced on the accompanying map of western roads, although the numbers used on the map are not here followed.

1.—From Fort Smith, Arkansas, westward along the Canadian River and thirty-fifth degree of north latitude, through Indian Territory,[1] Texas and New Mexico, to Santa Fé (819 miles) and Albuquerque (814¾ miles). Captain Marcy's route of 1849.

2.—From Fort Leavenworth, Kansas, southwestward through Kansas, Colorado and New Mexico to Santa Fé.

3.—From Fort Smith, Arkansas, southwestward through Indian Territory and Texas to El Paso. A route discovered and marked by Marcy in 1849. Distance, 860 miles.

4.—From St. Joseph, Missouri, through Kansas, along the North Fork of the Platte in Nebraska, and thence through Wyoming and Utah to Salt Lake City. Distance, 1,136 miles. A principal route for overland emigrants. Average length of time on the road in good weather, 75 days.

5.—From Salt Lake City, southwest through Utah, Nevada and California to Sacramento and Benicia. Distance, 973 miles. Total distance from St. Joseph to Sacramento, 2,109 miles.

6.—From Salt Lake City, southwest through Utah, Nevada and California to Los Angeles. Distance, 773 miles.

7.—From Los Angeles northward through California to San Francisco. Distance, 465 miles.

8.—From Soda Springs, Idaho, northwest through Idaho, Washington and Oregon to Oregon City and Salem. Distance, 964 miles.

9.—From New Orleans to Fort Yuma, California. By steamboat from New Orleans to Powder Horn, on the Texas coast. Thence by wagon road northwest to San Antonio. Distance, 144 miles. Thence by wagon road 654 miles to El Paso. Thence by wagon road 644 miles to Fort Yuma. Total overland distance from Powder Horn to Yuma, 1,442 miles.

10.—From Fort Yuma northward to Benicia, California, 800 miles.

11.—From Fort Yuma westward to San Diego, California. Distance, 217 miles.

[1] Now Oklahoma.

12.—From El Paso to Fort Yuma, via Santa Cruz. Distance, 756 miles.

13.—From Westport, Missouri, to the Pike's Peak gold diggings and Denver. Westward through Kansas and Colorado. Distance, 685¼ miles.

14.—From St. Paul, Minnesota, westward through Minnesota, Dakota, Montana and Washington to Fort Wallah Wallah. Distance, 1,685¾ miles.

15.—From Albuquerque, New Mexico, westward through New Mexico, Arizona and California to Los Angeles. Distance, 1,010 miles.

16.—From Fort Thorne, New Mexico, westward through New Mexico and California to Fort Yuma. Distance, 571 miles.

17.—From the Laramie Crossing of the South Platte River, Nebraska, to Fort Bridger, Wyoming, via Bridger's Pass. Distance, 520½ miles. By the Fort Laramie Road the distance was 569 miles.

18.—From Denver, Colorado, to Fort Bridger. Distance, 372 miles.

19.—From Camp Floyd, Utah, southwest through Utah, Colorado and New Mexico to Fort Union. Distance, 712 miles.

APPENDIX M

The heretofore unpublished narrative of an overland journey to California in 1849 from which the following passages are transcribed is a manuscript diary written by Stanislaus Lasselle, of Logansport, Indiana, and now among the Lasselle Papers of the Indiana State Library. He and the party with him travelled along or near the Santa Fé trail, and his account of the expedition is an excellent portrayal of the experiences and conditions encountered while journeying to California through that part of the continent crossed by him. Lasselle and his companions departed from Logansport on February 6, and reached their destination late in August. Their real overland trip began early in March, and from that time onward the writer tells his story thus:

March 2. Travelled eleven miles. James Dale burnt his whiskers by pouring cold water on hot grass. First time we cook by messes.

Saturday 3d.

Travelled fourteen miles. Enquired of a young farmer why he lived in such a country, his answer was because he was born there.

Monday 5th.

Travelled six miles. Teams half a mile and stalled. Boys scattered all along the road.

Tuesday 6.

Travelled two miles. Teams six miles behind.

Wednesday 7th.

Laid by all day. Teams came up.

Friday 9th.

Travelled sixteen miles. Beautiful views. The boys all delighted with the country and road.

Sunday 25th.

Travelled five miles. Camped near Fort Smith at Sulphur Spring. Found a company from New York as well as other states encamped.

Monday 26

Encamped all day. Singing in camp.

Tuesday 27

Encamped all day. Pistols stolen by mess No. 1. Persons should be cautious who they take for messmates.

Wednesday 28

Encamped all day. Lectures, speeches and singing in camp.

Thursday 29th.

Encamped all day. Impossible for mechanics at Fort Smith to do the work of emigrants.

Friday 30

Travelled six miles. Camped in the Choctaw territory.

Saturday 31

Past the Pateau river in ferry. Runaway match between a Choctaw and a Chickasaw girl. Married in the State of Arkansas. The mother of the girl took her home. Met a wandering Choctaw fidler. Played for us. Beautiful prairie and spurs of hills.

Sunday 1st April

Setting prairie on fire by the emigration to the great annoyance of the party. Last night a party of Choctaws from the wedding stop at Camp and dance and sang until two o'clock in the morning. Nearly all could speak English and seemed well contented with their wild and primitive life. They are fond of liquor. Most of them were dressed like the whites, but the turban is still common among them.

Tuesday 3

Saw in the prairie eleven Kickapoos taking some forty mules to Fort Smith to sell. They were all painted and had bows and arrows.

Wednesday 4

The Creek Indian country begins after crossing the Canadian [river]. Saw five young buffaloes in a field. Travelled ten miles.

Thursday 5

Making preparatory steps to organization. Various suggestions and propositions by various persons. Invited by Rev. Mr. Hay (a missionary among the Creek) to attend his school. An Indian prayed in his language and seemed eloquent.

Friday 6

I was solicited to run for captain but declined. A board of five was selected, selecting one from Indiana, Tennessee, Arkansas, Mississippi, Louisiana.

Saturday 7

There were several young Indians in camp with bows and arrows. To see their expertness with the bow and arrow some of the company place on the end of a twig stuck in the ground a dime and the one that hit it was entitled to it. They had hit the dime and also knocked it off before they were entitled to it. The company tried to encamp for the first time in order, but instead of camping in order as a military camping in two parallel lines, one line was formed in a semi-circle and the other a right angle, while some were entirely out of line. Some of the tents were fronting one way and some another. A deputation of five Comanches visited one of the chief of the Creek nation to know the motives of emigrants passing to California through their country. The Creek Chief informed them and reconciled them and gave them a letter.

Sunday 8th.

Went to church to hear Gen. McIntosh. He is a very popular, as well as a very talented Indian. A prejudice existing between the company among western and southern emigrants. Advantages taken by southerners because they have the powers. After they had formed a constitution requiring two-thirds to amend it, a resolution was introduced and passed that no one should leave the company or pack through until they reached Santa Fe. This resolution was passed to bind us to help some large wagons from other states. First time I stood guard on the trip. In the meantime, I dryed my socks and becoming very hungry, I fried some bacon and eat it without bred.

Monday 9

In travelling in the fore part of the day the company stalled several times and became disheartened, and came very near, some of them, of turning back. One mess from ———— sold their waggon and camp'd with the intention of packing. In the afternoon we past one of the most beautiful prairies I ever saw. The company was better satisfied and again cried ho! for California. The sun also which was hidden in the fore part of the day made his appearance and seemed to cheer up the dampened spirits. Travel'd six miles.

Sunday 15th.

Traveled eight miles. Snow fell three inches thick. Night and morning very cold. Prairie all covered with snow. Mules and horses could not pick grass. A person would have perished without tent or fire.

Monday 16.

Preparation for packing. All new hands at it. A great Ball by the Indians in honor of the Firemaker.

Wednesday 18

Crossed Little river with waggons. River very high. Emigrants delayed in consequence of it. We had to tie a cable to our waggons and draw them across half loaded, the balance of the load was taken across on horses. Several persons in crossing the river were either thrown off of their horses or got entirely wet. As we had concluded to pack we disposed of a great many articles at sacrifice. Went about one mile from the village [of Indians] and camp'd for the purpose of preparing to pack. All new hands at it.

Friday 20

Having all packs ready we left in the forenoon. Difficulty in putting packs on horses. Got some Indians to put them on for us. Several stampedes of mules in camp. Laughable to see the mules scatter the packs through the woods. A bag of crackers belonging to Dale broke open and scattered the crackers for two or three hundred yards. The Indians that were in camp discovered it was bread and broke for it. Traveled ten miles.

Saturday 21

Traveled twenty miles. Took the wrong trail and went to a Delaware settlement. Hired a Delaware to put us on the right trail.

Sunday, 22nd.

Pass Choteau's Trading House. Struck the plain at the Canadian. No road from there.

Wednesday 25th.

Overtook the Knickerbockers [emigrants from New York], part with waggons and part packing. Also a few packers from Tennessee and Arkansas. Buffalo signs.

Thursday 26th.

Traveled twenty-five miles. Past through a city of prairie wolves covering some three or four hundred acres. Looked like a deserted town, being so much tramped by them. Fine spring water all day.

Saturday 28th.

Laid by all day to rest the teams. A Knickerbocker washing in the creek. He was boiling all of the color out of his shirt. First Buffalo seen and killed.

Sunday 29th.

Traveled fifteen miles. Saw three or four droves of Buffalo. The train stopped that all who wanted a chase after Buffalo might have

one. The meat was very tough and two or three meals of buffalo meat seemed to satisfy all who was so anxious to eat buffalo meat. The Knickerbockers in the chase had double-barrel shotguns, which created a good deal of laughter and sport to the rest of the company. The black-bird are very tame and often light on the horses as they were going along. The buffalo all seemed to be going north.[1]

Monday 30th.

Traveled about fifteen or twenty miles. Saw some fifty thousand buffalos during the day. From morning until night they were seen on either side of us, indeed, it seemed as if we had to cut our way through them. As far as the eye could reach they were seen and I believe we could see fifteen or twenty miles on all sides.[2] Grass all eaten up and stamped by buffalos.

Tuesday May 1st.

A great many complaining of being sick. Some believed it was the buffalo meat and others thought it was the brackish water. A fight between A. Searight and Jo. Rheins.

Wednesday 2nd.

The company killed a buffalo near the train. The Knickerbockers opened it to get the heart and liver. They got the heart but could not find the liver and left the carcass. The country became more broken and seemed to change.

Thursday 3rd.

Saw antelope. Water brakish. Country broken. Soil red. Camped at night without water.

Saturday 5th.

The boys while scouting came across a party of Indians. I, with some others, immediately plaited [contemplated?] to overtake them but they were gone, which the Captain thought was rather a bad sign. That night we increased our guard. We also thought we could get information about the way we had to go, as we had a very little idea where we were. Killed several snakes. They can be heard rattling 100 feet. Buchanan saw a bear.

Sunday 6th.

An Indian, to the great surprise, as well as the gratification of some of our party came in camp, being one of those that had been seen the day before. The Indian's face was painted all over with yellow clay—around his eyes was red paint. He had on a buffalo robe, with [feath-

[1] As they always did at that season of the year.
[2] The party had evidently encountered one of the five or six main bodies of migrating bison, in each of which there were many hundreds of thousands of the animals.

ers?] from the back of his head reaching to the ground. His risks[1] were covered with brass wire, rather large. He had a rifle covered over with white cow hide and at the mussle of the gun was ten or twelve strings of white cow hide twisted, which gave it the appearance of a pennant at a distance. At the brigg of the gun was a bunch of turkey feathers cut short. He had a pouch also strung with white beads as was the strap. He also had a small bag where he kept his looking glass, and he seemed to take as much care of it as a lady would of her toilet. His features were rather feminine and did not indicate that he was much of a warrior. He was invited to get off his horse, which he done, and was taken into one of the tents where a breakfast was brought to him when he commenced eating. Seeing there was no knife or fork he by signs gave us to understand that he was somewhat acquainted with the use of them. His errant, as he said, was to informed us that there were some Pawmenahom [Pawnee?] lurking around our camp for the purpose of stealing our horses.

Monday 7th.

Country broken and very sandy having change from red clay to yellow sand. A bear and cub killed by Dale and Buchanan. A Knickerbocker shot at the bear after it was dead. Saw dwarf oak trees from 6 to 18 inches high which bears acorns. We stopt at noon to rest our horses and to dine under a very beautiful cotton tree. It was very large and its limbs spread every direction which made a very good shade.

Tuesday 8

Traveled about twelve miles. Did not start so soon as usual. had to mend a wagon. A general quarreling among the messes. Knats [gnats] bad. A Knickerbocker knocked off his horse by fighting two others. Stuned.

Thursday 10

We dined in a cottonwood grove. In the grove the dove, martin, mocking bird &c were heard singing which reminded me of home. Hearing the dove in the wilderness singing was rather unexpected. Pack company wanted to leave the waggons. Some of company who were bitten by knats this morning had the faces and hands very much swollen. About sun down we had a terrible hail storm and strong wind, blowing down some of the tents of the Knickerbockers. After the storm two or three of the K's crawled out of their tents to the sport of the company. I stood guard. Mocking birds singing at night.

Friday 11

A Knickerbocker kicked by a mule. He was walking leasurely along with a green veil over his face to keep the knats from biting him, and

[1] Wrists.

happening to get too close to the mule's heels, the mule lambed away and struck him on the shin bone. It was a severe kick, much worse than a knat bit. Several of the K's today have their faces tied up with eyes so swollen that they as some say cannot see ten feet. What accounts for the mule kicking. A K. thought that jurk meat was called so because it was jurked off of the skeleton. Saw for the first time the wild rose. The river becoming so small and the valley narrowing so much made me believe that the Guadalope mountains so long looked for was close at hand.

Saturday 12

After traveling about 4 miles in the bottom of the river [the Canadian] we left it and took on top of the hill where we took a south west course, believing that we had left the Canadian. but toward evening when it was time to camp to our great surprise we found ourselves again on the banks of the Canadian, and as we could not find either wood or water we endeavored to get in the river bottom but it was impossible the bluffs were too steep and rocky. Late at night some of the boys getting very thirsty myself among them we ventured down the mountain in search of water. We all felt that we were lost and instead of wishing to go the right course we began to want to get to settlements that we might get on the right course. The waggon horses were about to give out and those who had waggons felt anxious to have others [other horses]. A fight between two Knickerbockers. A Knickerbocker lost his coat. Toward evening as we pushed ahead rapidly some of the waggons did not come up until late at night while others did not come up at all. Heretofore we generally formed in order but tonight there was no order.

Sunday 13

Laid by all day. In the morning we found ourselves camped in great disorder entirely surrounded by deep ravines with the exception of the side that we came.

Monday 14

In leaving camp in the morning we went back the same road. There was difference of opinion to what course to take. While I and some others were some two or three miles in advance of the train we saw an Indian making towards us on horse full speed. We shook hands with him which seemed to please him very much. We learned from him that we were five days travel from Mexican settlements. He told us he was an Apache and motioned to the south.

Tuesday 15

Travel'd twenty miles. Passed over a country rolling and very much broken. The company very much discourage. No sight of the

mountains yet. Two fights by the company. One of them by two Knickerbockers.

Wednesday 16

It was my turn to stand guard. As the night was extremely cold we got our blankets an rapt around us. I had a pair of mackinaw blankets around me but the cold piercing wind seemed to strike through them.

Friday 18

Traveled about twelve miles. As the afternoon was very stormy we did not travel. As the company had been pestered by hail they became very cautious of the black looking clouds. They all contrived some way or other to shelter from hail. I saw three Hoosiers in a cave that they had dug in the side of a ravine. They were snugly secured from the hail. They had used a spade to make the hole.

Saturday 19

Still had the bluffs all day on our right. In the evening we found water but it was in small basin and it was all used up, having none for morning. We saw a Comanche who told us of this water and I believe if it had not been for him we would not have got the water.

Sunday 20

In the morning the oxen were missing and it was supposed they had been stolen. After going some four or five miles met a train of Mexicans and also got from them the distances of different places. This was gratifying to us after being so long in suspense. We were eight days travel from Santa Fee. A Knickerbocker took a young jack the Mexicans had packing for a young buffalo which was considered a good joke and created a good deal of laughter. We had not left the Mexican train long before we saw on rising ground ahead of us a large body of Indians. We all halted immediately and examined whether our arms were in order and as the waggon train was some ten miles behind, we consulted each other whether to go ahead or not. In the mean time there were two or three of the Comanches riding toward us. They soon came up and seemed to be very friendly. After informing them that we were waiting for the waggon train and that as soon as it came up we would go on, he seemed to be reconciled, but after some time waiting they became uneasy and insisted very strong that some of us should go up immediately. Myself and Jackson concluded to go with them. One was a chief. When we got within half a mile I saw many more than I thought was there. As soon as we got within a hundred yards of them, they all mounted their horses and made a great deal of noise by talking loud and hollering. Once and awhile I could hear among [them] voices giving command coming no doubt from the

Chiefs. We were immediately surrounded by some fifty young men who came galloping towards us through curiosity I suppose. They were not long around us before they were ordered to leave. We were led up to several chiefs ten or twelve in number who were seated on blankets and invited to dismount and set down by them. I got off my horse handed him to an Indian to hold, set down by the side of them. I had not been seated long before a very old Indian dressed in a white blanket coat and cap came up before me and the chiefs and knealed on the grass also putting his elbows on the grass and placing his hands together. He muttered as I thought a prayer and then talked to the chiefs. He done this several times. It struck me that he was either priest, prophet or medicine man among them and that it depended on his decision what our fate was to be. The main chief after a while unrapt a paper carefully wrapped up and handed it to me. I read it and found that it was from the Indian Agent for the Platte and Arkansas country stating that they had visited him and that it was their intention to be friendly to the Americans passing through their country. While I was seated with the chiefs all the Indians some eight hundred or a thousand made a circle around us. . . . Believing there was no danger we went on without the waggons and travelled some five miles farther when we came up to their encampment numbering at least two hundred lodges. Here we encamped for the night. The Indians generally had nothing on them but buffalo robes, beads and paint. They came to our camp unarmed. They had about their camp some three thousand horses and mules. A few of them noble animals.

Tuesday 22

Traveled thirty miles. Saw several beautiful landscape views. Some of the Knickerbockers entirely out of provisions.

Wednesday 23

Saw mountains on right covered with snow. I was riding behind a chief and his squaw. The chief droped some ornament the squaw got off her horse and picked it up and handed it to the chief. This is Comanche politeness. Water is beginning to get scarce.

Thursday 24

Traveled twenty miles. Country very broken. The captain (Ebbetts) declined acting as captain any more.

Friday 25

Country very broken. It was nothing but down and uphill all day. This day expecting to pass the first signs of civilization. About two o'clock we came to a ranch called Bernae, having some twenty-five

persons. Here is the Independence road that leads to Santa Fee. It has been worked by the government and much used.

Monday 28

Traveled twenty-five miles. Reach'd Sante Fe. The town built of mud. Very dusty. Extortion by Mexicans and Americans for corn and hay. Fandangos every night.

Tuesday 29

Laid in Sante Fe all day. New preparations for outfitting. Many of the Knickerbockers preparing to pack. Gambling among Mexicans and Americans. Five churches. Officers gave a fandango.

Wednesday 30

Many of the emigrants got to gambling. Gambling on the increase as the Americans came. One of the Knickerbockers had his pistol stolen at a gambling table.

Thursday 31

Left Santa Fee on the Spanish trail. Traveled 30 miles. A battle was fought this day eight miles from us and immediately on our road between the U. S. troops and Apaches. Twenty Apaches killed. No Americans killed. Two Mexicans killed was the cause of the fight. The road all day hilly and barren.

Friday June 1st

Laid by all day. Difference of opinion as to the route. Some discouraged. Another battle between the troops and Apaches.

Saturday 2

Laid by all day. Arranging packs. Footmen discouraged. They conclude to go back. The Indians in St. John have schuttle holes from the tops of their houses and no lower doors. Report that there were eight tribes of Indians collecting for the purpose of fighting the emigrants.

Monday 4th.

Traveled sixteen miles. Camped two miles above Abuquerte [Albuquerque]. Abuquerte is an Indian village. A company of volunteers stationed in it.

Thursday 7

Traveled eight miles and camp'd on the Chames river not being [able] to ford it. Preparations for crossing in building rafts. Unsuccessful with rafts. Commence building a canoe. Work on it until twelve o'clock at night. River water cold as ice. Good grass and wood.

Friday 8

Laid by all day. Crossed four or five loads in canoe. Lost two loads of packs in crossing river. One mess lost five hundred dollars in silver in one of his packs. The upsetting of canoe frightened the rest. No more crossing during the day. Dissention of part. Some wanted to go the northern route some the southern route.

Saturday 9

Not being able to cross after using great exertion all concluded to return back.

Sunday 10

Traveled twenty-five miles. Coming down the mountain was very hard on the mules.

Monday 11

Traveled thirty miles. Past Albuqu. Procured at Albuku. Larue, who had been with Kerney [General Kearney] and Cook as our guide. Horse shoes and nails wanted bad by the company.

Wednesday 13

Company again divided, part left to accompany Day, who concluded to await a few days before leaving. Elected Miller captain. The guide did not know the road on the south side of the river, and as we did not wish to cross the river we concluded to continue on the south side..... Hearing that there was a road going to [Horner ?] we concluded to take that road. The moment we left the river we entered a pass in the mountain and traveled along a path some ten miles when the road run out. We continued the pass until we could not get any farther. The pass entirely closed up. Seeing it impossible to go any farther we return the same road some eight miles when we camped for the night. Dissention again among the party. Day tried to get our guide.

Thursday 14

Returned back to the Rio Grande thinking it best not to venture any other path without a guide who had traveled the road. We procured an Indian. It seemed that we had taken the wrong road about eight miles up the pass. Taking the left instead of the right. For my part I did not see any right hand road. The left hand road was made by herding stock. Strangers should never travel without a guide. Water and grass is always scarce.

Friday 15

Traveled fifteen miles. Nearly all day in going up and down a mountain.

Saturday 16

Traveled twenty-five miles. The road very mountainous. Most of the day down hill. Saw bear in the morning. Knickerbocker mules mired.

Sunday 17

Past two Pueblo villages. In the first as we past it we saw in the plaza a number of Indians at, as I thought, some kind of game. They were naked and painted with white clay with the exception of two who were painted black and had horns on their heads. Those dressed or painted white had animals painted on their backs with black paint. They all formed in a line except the black ones who it seems were privileged to go where they pleased. The black ones would go to the white ones and rub against them as well as embraced them. The black ones had greese on them which made them shine. Around the plaza on tops of houses as well as in the plaza were a great many females chiefly very neat and who seemed to take a delight as onlookers. Reached the Rio Grande river and camped on its bank.

Monday 18

Traveled twenty miles down the valley of the Rio Grande.

Tuesday 19

Traveled down the valley twelve miles and camped opposite albeque. Saw two Navaho Indians.

Wednesday 20

Laid by all day. Made another outfit. A person never gets done making outfits.

[From the 21st to the 25th, inclusive, the emigrants traveled along the Rio Grande about 110 miles.]

Tuesday 26

Traveled thirty miles. Past St. Antoine, the last Mexican settlement. Past waggons for California.

Thursday 28

After traveling twelve miles we left the Rio Grande and took Gen. Kearney's trail. We past over beautiful table land, with the exception of three or four deep ravines. From the river to where we camped some twenty miles there was no water.

Saturday 30

Beautiful little valley with plenty of cottonwood, ash, walnut, &c. Eat and stewed fine currents. Fish'd in the river. Country mountainous.

Sunday July 1st.

Camped at the copper mine, once considerable of a town but now destroyed by the Apaches. An alarm at night. Guard herd as he thought an Indian yell on the mountain. As had rain the two preceeding days there was not many of the arms in order.

Monday 2

One of the company lost his mule and pack.

Tuesday 3

Camped on the Hula [Gila] river where Gen. Kearney had camped and where Emory says he camped. Was amidst mountains that looked like huge hay stacks.

Wednesday 4

Did not travel today. It being the 4th in the morning we fire a salute. Had for my dinner grizly bear soup with rice. Some parties went a fishing some hunting and some a gambling. Emory says that the fish in the Gila river have no scales. He is mistaken.

Saturday 7

Traveled ten miles. Saw Apache Indians (three) for the first time. Disappointed in getting horse shoes and nails left by Kearney.

Sunday 8

Took a cut-off over the mountains and avoided the Devil's turnpike spoken off by Emery. We save three or four days travel by doing so. After ascending the mountains about fifteen miles we reached the summit of the mountains and to our great surprise saw the Gila river on the other side.....After reaching the top of the mountains and seeing the river we became careless of the water not supposing the river to be over eight miles. Some thought it not over three miles but to our great distress it was some twenty miles. For my part I suffered very much for water and it was with much difficulty that I succeeded in reaching the river. Men and horses both gave out. I was the only person who walked the distance without giving out. I was so dry for water that could not swaller or utter a sound. I drank about 3 quarts of water and 1 quart of coffee.

Monday 9th.

Traveled ten miles only for the reason that we had to rest our horses.

Thursday 12

Today we traveled about a mile from camp, but David C. Buchanan meeting a serious accident we return to where we had camp. While

Buchanan was riding by the side of White off White's rifle went and struck Buchanan in the thigh. Doctor Bush tried to extract the bullet but he could not succeed. Several plans were suggested to carry Buchanan on. The plan adopted was to send some thirty men on this evening nine miles down the river and make canoes, there being no timber here suited for that purpose.

Friday 13

Built a raft for Buchanan but it was impracticable. The river was too low and too many rapids. They brought Buchanan on a litter nine miles to where timber could be had. He was carried by men.

Saturday 14

Capt. Miller resign his office. Ridley elected in his place. A litter was prepared for Buchanan partly carried by men and partly by mules. While traveling today we overtook several Indians by surprise. They had no sooner seen us than they broke and run leaving their packs behind of muscal[1] and parched corn. We hailed them. They were all naked and had bows and arrows. We bought their muscal by paying them powder, bullets, buttons, needles, thread, tobacco, &c. A Mexican along pulled off his shirt to trade for muscal.

Sunday 15

Traveled twelve miles through the canon. The men found much trouble in carrying Buchanan up and down the mountains as well as crossing the river several times. We camped in the canon.

Monday 16

In the afternoon another mule was hitched to the litter, which made it easier on the men. We camped at night where there was an Indian encampment. They had a kind of jelly made of the apple of the cactus. It eats very good and makes drinkable wine. As soon as they saw us they all broke and ran but as soon as they saw we were friendly they came back to us and presented us with muscal &c in abundance. They were all naked when we saw them but as soon as they traded for a shirt or a handkerchief they would put it on. The squaws could do no trading and had to remain naked.

Wednesday 18

We nooned where there was a large quantity of prickly pears. The company eated to excess and many were made sick. At night after camping it was [found] that an Irishman was left behind who complained of being sick by eating the prickly pears. He laid out all night.

[1] Meaning a very strong intoxicating drink of Mexico and the southwestern border.

Sunday 22

Laid by all day. Buchanan was taken to the Head Chief of the Pinos who seemed to be hospitable toward him as well as kind.

Monday 23

The chief was down in our camp and one of the company showed him his likeness in Emory's work. His wife was by and recognized the likeness. It greatly tickled other Indians who was standing by at the time.

Tuesday 24

Camped near the Maracopees [Maricopi]. We were informed by them that the Apaches had killed five American emigrants and also two Maracopees and that they had sent out four hundred warriors to fight them. They had many worn out horses they had got from the whites that was ahead of us. We had plenty of roasting ears and watermelons. The Pinos and Maracopees will steal. They were caught at it.

Wednesday 25

Party again divided. A party of some thirty men left about four o'clock in the afternoon expecting to travel all night. The rest, some fifty-four concluded to leave in the morning. The Knickerbockers again divided. I believe a husband and wife divided.

[From Thursday, July 26 to Tuesday, July 31st, inclusive, the party proceeded without noteworthy incident through the Gila River valley, covering about 120 miles during the six days.]

Wednesday August 1st.

The company divided and scattered for twenty miles up and down the river.

Thursday 2

Adopted the plan of traveling in the night and in the morning.[1]

Friday 3

Saw Indian tracks. Did not know what to think about them. I was satisfied their intention was not to trouble us as they kept the main trail, and which was thronged from the Pinos' villages to the Colorado with emigrants. A great many of the company destitute of shoes and clothing.

Saturday 4

Traveled twenty miles. One third of the company is now afoot having lost or broken down their horses and mules.

[1] Owing to the heat of the other hours.

Sunday 5

Two miles after leaving camp we past poor Buchanan. He was in good spirits. He looked very thin and pale. While stoped at noon, Buchanan and waggon past us. At night we past him again.

Tuesday 7

Crossing the Colorado river all day. We hired the Indians to make us rafts to cross us over. We put on our baggage and the Indians and ourselves swam and pulled them over. We did not discover until too late that they had concocted a premeditated plan to rob us until it was too late. They in landing us were careful that we were scattered along the river for two miles. Some of the rafts were robbed, our raft, being too many whites, was unmolested. The Indians also were very particular to land our horses far apart and sometimes turn[ed] them down the stream and land them on the same side when they would get on them and ride off. This is the way our mess lost two horses.

Wednesday 8

Today we crossed the balance of our horses and were more successful not losing any of them, however it was owing to the plan we had adopted. We got a lot of mules on a sand bar and walked them around and around while the [other] mules were swimming over. The mules coming over would as soon as they saw those on the sand bar make for them, and it was impossible for the Indians, with all their expertness in swimming to get them. We also had men stationed along both banks of the river. Yesterday we rushed our animals over in too great a hurry .....Some of the company were in favor of making the Indians returning the mules or routing the Indians from this point, but other[s] oppose it believing it to be a bad policy, as it might have a bad tendency on others who may travel the road.

Thursday 9

Laid by all day making preparations for crossing the desart.

Saturday 11

Part of the company lost taking another road, but I think it came into the waggon road. Came to wells made by Gen. Kearney. Saw today a great many mules and horses dead on the road. Saw a part of a skeleton being the arm of a human. A great many packs empty strewed the road. The skeleton might have perished for want of water.

Monday 13

The party suffered much for water. Many were not able to go through. Those reaching water went back with water to relieve those suffering.

Wednesday 14

Traveled sixteen miles. Camped at Citron pool where Kearney camped. It came upon our view unexpectedly. It really was a green spot in a barren country. A great many Mexicans leaving California. They report gold at San Felippe, twelve miles from us. Accounts prove the gold region favorable. Saw specimens of the gold dust.

Thursday 16

Traveled ten miles. Came to Aqua Caliente. (warm ranch.) Really the first settlement we reach in California.

Friday 17

Travelled eight miles [nothing more set down].

Saturday 18

Traveled thirty miles [no other entry].

Sunday 19

Traveled twenty miles [no other entry].

Monday 20

Traveled twenty miles [no other entry].

Tuesday 21

Traveled ten miles. Camped at William's ranch. [no other entry].

There is one more page to the journal, but the writing on it is very faint because it was also the outer page of the volume and was rubbed much by handling. Doubtless the few words thus lost were not of importance, for after the entry of August 14th, which tells of beholding actual gold, the entries were bare records of distances traversed.

Thus ends the narrative of a journey which began in Logansport, Indiana, on Tuesday, February 6, 1849. The man who wrote it spent six months and two weeks of time and ceaseless personal toil in getting from that town to California.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

A CONTRIBUTION TO A BIBLIOGRAPHY OF THE HISTORY OF TRAVEL IN AMERICA

The following titles have been transcribed from certain of the books, pamphlets, broadsides and maps gathered for use in the preparation of these volumes. Nearly all of them—and the exceptions will not be difficult of recognition—are primary accounts for all or part of the narratives or information contained in them.

The list almost wholly excludes earlier works dealing solely with technical, engineering, financial, economic and commercial phases of American transportation history. The profuse modern writings on those phases of the subject have already been catalogued in numerous bibliographies issued by the Congressional Library and other similar institutions. There is not, on the other hand—so far as the author of these pages is aware—any comprehensive published list of material which deals with the early, personal experiences of the American people while devising, arguing over, building and using the various travel facilities by which they have overrun the country. These titles are offered as a contribution to such a list. The subject matter of the books described constitutes a partial record of the early ideas of the people in relation to travel facilities; their wrangles and disputes over the question at different periods; their efforts to create various and ever more pretentious methods of travel; and their experiences while using the conveyances and travel systems thus brought into being.

An unexpectedly large number of the titles here given are not usually found in library catalogues or those other lists of Americana to which the public refers when in search of material dealing with the earlier conditions of the country. One of the reasons for the preparation of this list is to be found in the hope that its publication will be of measurable value to librarians, historical societies, universities, colleges, and students of the subject, and that it will add, in a certain measure, to a knowledge of the historical material relating to America which still exists. None of the items is an excerpt from other or unnamed works. All are individual publications unless otherwise stated.

Owing to limitations of space certain long titles have been abbreviated, as indicated, but in all cases a sufficient transcript has been made to render identification sure. Nor has it been possible, within reasonable space, to follow scientific catalogue practise to its last detail in this bibliography. The author believed it was more desirable to describe

many items in the manner adopted, and to outline the nature and contents of a book when necessary, rather than to curtail the list of titles for the sake of giving the size, pagination, collation and publisher's imprint of only two-thirds the number. Nor have certain numerous and important works been included. Books such as Gregg's "Commerce of the Prairies," Inman's "Great Salt Lake Trail," Colden's "Erie Canal Celebration of 1825," the exploration narratives of Lewis and Clark, Pike, and Long, Parkman's "Oregon Trail," and the various editions of Zadoc Cramer's "Navigator"—for example—are too well known to make mention of them necessary. The titles of various state and local histories and other similar works mentioned in foot-notes have also been omitted, since they do not treat exclusively of the subject in hand. Following is the list prepared:

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T. W. Bradfield, Editor-in-Chief. "Published on board the St. Paul, at Sea, en route for England. November 15, 1899." [Small folding broadside, printed on writing paper bearing the engraved heading "U. S. M. S. St. Paul." Paper water-marked "Joynson's Parchment," with a water-mark shield bearing three griffin's heads. First and fourth pages blank; second and third occupied by printed news received by wireless telegraphy, with the title extending across both pages. A few copies printed and sold on the vessel at $1.00 a copy. First printing of a wireless newspaper at sea. Marconi operated.]

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Marcy, Captain Randolph B.—The same. London, 1863. [Edited, with notes, by Richard Burton, and with a better map. The map of the English edition is reproduced in these volumes.]

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of the East; the government road from the Ohio Country to New Orleans; General Jackson's road through Alabama, Mississippi and Louisiana; Lewis and Clark's route, Pike's route and other existing links of the travel system of the time. Reproduced in these volumes.]

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Memorial (A) to Congress to Secure an Adequate Appropriation for a Prompt and Thorough Improvement of the Mississippi River. With an appendix by Sylvester Waterhouse of Washington University. St. Louis, 1877. [Contains the action of the River Improvement Convention held at St. Paul in October, 1877, and a paper on the subject of river navigation prepared by Waterhouse for the St. Louis Board of Trade.]

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two wide columns on blue paper. New York, July 10, 1852. [Reproduced in the text.]

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Railroads.—Lands for the People; not Monopolies. Speech of Hon. Jackson Orr of Iowa in the H. of R., March 23, 1872. Wash., 1872. [On the governmental aid given to railroads.]

Railroads.—Miniature Illustrated Railway Guide of the Lake Shore and Michigan Southern Railway, etc. Buffalo, 1874.

Railroads.—New-York & Albany Rail-Road. New York, March 24, 1842. [A printed circular letter, calling the attention of the public to the report of certain proceedings—which are also given—in advocacy of a railroad between New York City and Albany. Signed by A. G. Thompson, Peter Cooper, Peter Schermerhorn and ten others. This pamphlet is the documentary corner-stone of the Hudson River Railroad, now a part of the New York Central. Title page reproduced in the text.]

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Railroads.—Northern Pacific Railroad: Speech of Hon. William Windom, of Minnesota, delivered in the H. of R., Jan. 5, 1869. Wash., 1869. [Advocating its support.]

Railroads.—Ohio Railroad Guide, Illustrated, The.—Cincinnati to Erie, via Columbus and Cleveland. Columbus, 1854.

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Railroads.—Points for Consideration by the Investigating Committee of the Pennsylvania Railroad Company, n. p., 1867.

Railroads.—Proceedings of the National Railroad Convention Which Assembled in the City of St. Louis, on the Fifteenth of October, 1849. To which is prefixed the Proceedings of the Primary Meetings of the Citizens of St. Louis, held previous to the Meeting of Said Convention. St. Louis, 1850.

Railroads.—Proceedings of the Railroad Convention, assembled at Harrisburg (Pa.), March 6, 1838. Philadelphia, 1838. [Delegates came from Pittsburgh, Cleveland, Philadelphia and elsewhere.]

Railroads.—Rail Road March. For the Fourth of July. Dedicated to the Directors of the Baltimore & Ohio Rail Road. Composed & arranged for the Piano Forte. C. Meineke. Baltimore. [And at bottom] Entered according to act of Congress the 3d day of July, 1828, etc. [A piece of sheet music, folio in size, of ten pages, three of which are occupied by the music score. The score itself is printed, but the title is engraved, and contains a picture of a locomotive, tender, and three cars. The music was sold in Baltimore on July 4, 1828, as part of the celebration attending the commencement of the Baltimore and Ohio Railway on that day. Title page reproduced in the text.]

Railroads.—Railroads Fifty-Six Years Ago. n.p., n.d. (1867.) [A small broadside containing the letter written by R. R. Livingston to Stevens in 1811 regarding railroads and their future.]

Railroads.—Railroads in the States: Speech of Hon. James R. Doolittle, of Wisconsin, delivered in the Senate of the U. S., Jan. 22, 1869. Wash., 1869. [Opposing the building of interstate railways by Federal charter.]

Railroads.—Railroads to the Pacific. Speech of Mr. Dodge, of Iowa, on the Bill . . . for the Construction of a Railroad and Telegraph line from the Mississippi Valley to the Pacific Ocean. (Washington, 1853.)

Railroads.—Rapid Transit Assured: A Feast of Thanksgiving. (New York, 1878.) [An account of the meeting of Dec. 26, 1877, in celebration of the success of the New York Elevated Railroad.]

Railroads.—Report of Senator Bright, of the Committee on Roads and Canals, to whom were referred the memorials of Asa Whitney, Thomas Allen, Winslow Lanier & Company, the Chamber of Commerce of New York, and others, praying for the Construction of a national railroad and electric telegraph from the Mississippi river to the Pacific Ocean. Washington, 1850. [Being Rep. Com. No. 194, of the 31st Congress, 1st Session.]

Railroads.—Report of the Committee on Roads and Canals, to whom were referred the memorial . . . of a meeting of delegates for several states held in St. Louis the 16th of October last, praying for the location and construction of a national railroad and electric telegraph from the Mississippi river to the Pacific ocean; also . . . various and numerous resolutions . . . from State Legislatures, . . . large public meetings

in several different cities of the Union . . . in favor of the plan of Mr. Asa Whitney, etc., etc. (Washington) 1850. [Being Rep. Com. No. 194, Senate, 31st congress, 1st session. The committee recommends the South Pass route.]

Railroads.—Report of the Committee . . . to whom was referred the memorial of Asa Whitney, relative to the Construction of a railroad from Lake Michigan to the Pacific Ocean, etc. (Washington) 1848. [Being Rep. Com. No. 191, Senate, 30th Congress, 1st Session.]

Railroads.—Report of the Committee . . . to whom were referred a memorial of Sundry citizens of Indiana, praying the construction of a national railroad from the Mississippi to the Columbia river, and the memorial of Asa Whitney, suggesting the means, and submitting a proposition, for the construction of such roads, etc., etc. (Washington) 1846. [Being Senate, 466; 29th Congress, 1st Session. A general review of transcontinental travel and transportation as it then existed, and a discussion of the possibility and desirability of building the railway.]

Railroads.—Resolutions of the Legislature of Connecticut, in favor of a Railroad from Lake Michigan to the Pacific, on the plan proposed by Mr. Whitney. (Washington) 1847. [Being Miscellaneous No. 18, Senate, 30th Congress, 1st Session.]

Railroads.—Salt Lake and Colorado Railroad: Remarks of Hon Wm. H. Claggett, of Montana, in the H. of R., April 18, 1872. (1872.) [A debate revealing travel conditions in the West, particularly the peculiar situation in Utah, which territory granted private monopolies in roads, bridges and ferries to Brigham Young and other prominent members of the Mormon Church.]

Railroads.—Speech of Hon. Truman Smith, of Conn., in support of the Bill . . . for the Construction of a Railroad and telegraph line from the Mississippi Valley to the Pacific Ocean. (Washington) 1853.

Railroads.—Speech of Mr. Bell, on the Foreign Relations of the United States. (Washington) 1853. [Deals with the effect, upon world affairs, of transcontinental American railroads.]

Railroads.—Speech of Mr. Dodge, of Iowa, on the Bill reported from the Select Committee for the Construction of a Railroad and Telegraph Line from the Mississippi Valley to the Pacific Ocean. Delivered in the Senate, Feb. 18, 1853. Washington, 1853.

Railroads.—Standard Gauge Locomotives Manufactured by the Rhode Island Locomotive Works, Providence, R. I., With Weights, Dimensions, etc., n.p., n.d.

Railroads.—The Official History of the Great Strike of 1886 on the Southwestern Railway System. Compiled by the Bureau of Labor Statistics and Inspection of Missouri. Jefferson City, 1887.

Railroads.—The Reading Railroad. The History of a Great Trunk Line. (Philadelphia) n.d.

Railroads.—The Union Pacific Railroad Company, Chartered by the

United States. Progress of their Road west from Omaha, Nebraska, Across the Continent. Making, with its connections, an unbroken Line from the Atlantic to the Pacific Oceans. Five Hundred miles completed October 25, 1867. New York, 1868.

Railroads.—To Southern Travellers. Fall and Winter Arrangement of the Great Southern Mail Line direct from New York, Philadelphia and Baltimore, via Washington . . . to New Orleans. Baltimore, September, 1857. [Folio broadside with woodcut of railroad train in title. Signed by Stockton & Falls; E. F. Krebs, Agent.]

Railroads.—Uniform Rates of Transportation. Speech of Hon. Charles W. Kendall of Nevada in the H. of R., May 24, 1872. Wash., 1872. [Reviewing the amount of public lands and other governmental aid given to the railways.]

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Read, John M.—Opinion of, Against the Right of the City Councils [of Philadelphia] to Subscribe for Stock in the Pennsylvania Railroad Company, etc., etc. Philadelphia, 1846.

Redpath, James; and Hinton, Richard J.—Hand-Book to Kansas Territory and the Rocky Mountains' Gold Region, etc. Two large folding maps. New York, 1859.

Reigart, J. Franklin.—The Life of Robert Fulton, one of the most distinguished Inventors the World has ever produced. With interesting Incidents indicating the Character of the Man in his Youthful Days, the Dawnings of Genius then displayed; until he embarked in the Voyage of Life, and, by untiring Industry Raised Himself above the buffeting Storms, Erected his own Illustrious Name, and Secured the Highest Distinction that Mortal Man can attain—the Admiration, Honor, and Gratitude of Nations and Posterity. This volume contains a simple record of facts, etc. Philadelphia, 1856.

Remarks on the Practicability and Expediency of Establishing a Railroad on one or more Routes from Boston to the Connecticut River. By the Editor of the Boston Daily Advertiser. Boston, 1827.

Renwick, James.—Treatise on the Steam Engine. Second edition, revised and enlarged. Plates. New York, 1839.

Report of the Committee on Roads [of the New York City Board of Assistant Aldermen] relative to the New York and Harlem Railroad Company rendering accommodations to the inhabitants on the line of their road, etc. New York, March 3, 1852.

Resolution of the Legislature of Indiana in relation to the improvement of the Iroquois and Kankakee rivers. (Washington) 1848. [Being Miscellaneous No. 109, Senate, 30th Congress, 1st Session. In advocacy of slack-water navigation.]

Resolution of the Legislature of Indiana relative to the National Road. (Washington) 1848. [Being Miscellaneous No. 111, Senate, 30th Congress, 1st Session. Complaining that the Federal government

had not finished that part of the National Road located in Indiana, and asking its relinquishment to the state in order that it might be completed.]

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Resolutions of the Legislature of Illinois, in favor of a Railroad from Lake Michigan to the Pacific, on the plan proposed by Mr. Whitney. (Wash.) 1848. Miscellaneous No. 76, Senate, 30th Congress, 1st Session.

Resolutions of the Legislature of Maine, in favor of a Railroad from Lake Michigan to the Pacific, on the Plan proposed by Mr. Whitney. (Wash.) 1847. Miscellaneous No. 5, Senate, 30th Congress, 1st Session.

Resolutions of the Legislature of New Jersey in favor of the construction of a railroad from Lake Michigan to the Pacific, on the plan proposed by Mr. Whitney. (Washington) 1848. Miscellaneous No. 77, Senate, 30th Congress, 1st Session.

Resolutions of the Legislature of New Jersey in relation to internal improvements. (Washington) 1848. [Being Miscellaneous No. 78, Senate, 30th Congress, 1st Session. Advocating the conclusions of the Chicago Convention of 1847 relating to river navigation.]

Resolutions of the Legislature of Ohio, in favor of the Construction of a Railroad from Lake Michigan to the Pacific Ocean, on the plan of Asa Whitney. (Wash.) 1848. Miscellaneous No. 124, Senate, 30th Congress, 1st Session.

Resolutions of the Legislature of Rhode Island, in favor of Whitney's plan for a railroad from Lake Michigan to the Pacific (Wash.) 1847. Miscellaneous No. 4, Senate, 30th Congress, 1st Session.

Resolutions of the Legislature of Tennessee, in favor of the construction of a railroad from Lake Michigan to the Pacific Ocean, on the plan proposed by Mr. Asa Whitney. (Wash.) 1848. Miscellaneous No. 29, Senate, 30th Congress, 1st Session.

Resolves Concerning Steamboats. (Boston) One Thousand Eight Hundred and Forty. [Being Senate Document No. 31 of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts; legislature of 1840. Report of a committee appointed to consider the constant disasters to steamboats and propose remedies.]

Richards, T. Addison.—The Fulton Folly, or, the First Steamboat: A Romance of American Biography. [Printed serially in the Orion, a monthly magazine of Literature and Art which was published in Athens and Penfield, Georgia, by William C. Richards in 1842-3-4. The tale begins in Vol. III, No. 1, Sept., 1843.]

Ritter, Abraham.—Philadelphia and her Merchants as Constituted

Fifty @ Seventy years ago . . . and incidents and anecdotes of the Day. Maps and diagrams. Philadelphia, 1860.

Roads (The) and Railroads, Vehicles, and Modes of Travelling, of Ancient and Modern Countries; with Accounts of Bridges, Tunnels and Canals in Various Parts of the World. London, MDCCCXXXIX.

Root, Frank A., and Connelley, William Elsey.—The Overland Stage to California. Personal Reminiscences and Authentic History of the Great Overland Stage Line and Pony Express from the Missouri River to the Pacific Ocean. Topeka, Kansas, 1901. [Published by the Authors.]

Rumsey, James.—A Short Treatise on the Application of Steam, whereby it is Clearly Shown . . . that Steam may be applied to propel Boats or Vessels, etc., etc. Philadelphia. MDCCLXXVIII. [Title reproduced in the text. A reprint may be found in O'Callaghan's "Documentary History of the State of New York," Vol. 2, Albany, 1849.]

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